

THE LONG SHADOW OF ANTI-SOVIET RIOTING by Alexandre Bennigsen in the NYT 12/20:

The ethnic, anti-Russian riots that took place earlier this month in the Central Asian city of Alma-Ata are a reminder that racial tensions remain a serious threat to the Soviet empire — to its short-term stability and long-term survival.

The rioting, by ethnic Kazakhs, reminds us once again that the Soviet Union is the last multinational empire of the world and that its Moslem population is 50 million strong — a fast-growing young community that accounts for one-sixth of the total Soviet population. Soviet Moslems have one of the highest birth rates in the world, and more than half of the population is under 20 years old...

Nor were these riots the first sign of racial unrest in the Soviet Union. Moslem riots have occurred before in Alma-Ata, in the spring of 1980, when Soviet officials attempted to bury Kazakh soldiers killed in Afghanistan in a Soviet military cemetery and not a Moslem cemetery...

The riots in Alma-Ata also highlight the dangerous backlash that the war in Afghanistan has had in Soviet Central Asia. Soviet Moslems see a double message of hope in the news from Afghanistan — that the Soviet Army is not invincible and that the Russians can be resisted. It may be assumed that without the encouraging example of the Afghan resistance, the latent xenophobia of the Kazakhs would never have exploded in a bloody riot.

If the war in Afghanistan is not ended rapidly and victoriously by the Soviet Army, other Moslem nationalities of Central Asia may be tempted to follow the Kazakh example. And it is not impossible that the slow but steady deterioration of ethnic relations in Central Asia may well oblige Soviet leaders to put an end to their adventure in Afghanistan. □

EXHIBITION

AFGHANISTAN - SMILE OF HOPE sponsored by the Dutch Committee for Afghanistan at the Museon, Stadhouderslaan 41, The Hague, Netherlands until 1/21. Tues. - Sat. 10 a.m. - 5 p.m., Sun. 1 - 5 p.m. Closed Mondays. The exhibition is cosponsored by the Nat'l Museum of Ethnology, Leiden.

AFGHAN WAR BLAMED FOR PAKISTAN ETHNIC STRIFE by Rone Tempest in the LA Times 12/17.

KARACHI, Pakistan—Members of the embattled Mohajir community, their slum neighborhoods devastated by four days of ethnic violence in which 150 have died here in Pakistan's largest city, feel they are indirectly victims of the war in Afghanistan being fought hundreds of miles to the north.

The Afghan war, they say, placed automatic weapons in the hands of their enemies on Karachi streets. The war also brought more than 3 million Afghan refugees into Pakistan to compete with them for jobs and living space, and it helped create the violent heroin trade that has made Karachi into a world drug nexus.

"Afghans are the root cause of the trouble here," complained Nisar Ahmad, 50, a schoolteacher in the Orangi slums where many Mohajirs have been killed. "Before the Afghan influx into Pakistan, there were no communal riots here."

Such anti-Afghan attitudes reflect a growing bitterness in some sections of Pakistan society over the continued presence on Pakistani soil of the refugees, who amount to the world's largest refugee population.

After three days of violence, more than 600 people have been killed or wounded in the Karachi fighting. For the third day in a row, most areas of the city except for a few affluent neighborhoods and the central business district remained under military-enforced curfew...

According to Mohajirs interviewed Tuesday, the two communities coexisted peacefully until 1980, when large numbers of refugee-seeking Afghan Pushtuns began migrating to the city.

Driven from their own country by Soviet troops, the Afghan Pushtuns mixed easily into the established communities of their ethnic Pakistani cousins. Many brought trucks and other vehicles with them from Afghanistan, helping Pakistani Pushtuns dominate the transportation industry in Karachi.

Many of the local Afghans remain committed to fight against the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul, and a significant number of them possess weapons furnished by the United States and other nations backing the guerrilla fight against the occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet troops...

Many Afghan refugees, particularly those living in Karachi and working in the transportation industry, are also involved in Pakistan's enormous heroin and hashish trafficking. Such drug dealing has also embittered other sections of Pakistani society against the Afghans.

Public pressure to clean up the Afghan drug traffic led to a massive raid by several thousand army soldiers and police here last Friday. The security forces moved into the densely populated Sohrab Goth slum where Afghan drug trafficking is centered, leveling the ramshackle community with bulldozers and relocating the population in a special camp several miles away.

The raiders seized almost 500 pounds of heroin, but the Pushtun community reacted bitterly. Community leaders called for a strike, and gangs of armed Pushtuns began roaming the streets, assaulting their Mohajir neighbors, apparently because the latter recently tried to have Afghan Pushtuns removed from the area. That effort has been encouraged by a newly formed Mohajir political organization.

Anti-Afghan sentiments in Karachi are among several signs that public support may be diminishing for the policy of President Zia ul-Haq to accept Afghan refugees and let them live in Pakistan as "brothers in Islam."

"Three million Afghans have been guests of Zia ul-Haq in this country, and they are all robbers," Ahmed, the Orangi schoolteacher, said.

The tensions created from the overflow from Afghanistan have already been the source of considerable strain in other areas, fueling additional opposition to Zia's leadership.

Terrorist bombings in the Afghanistan border areas of Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier provinces have upset Pakistanis in those areas. An explosion in a Quetta post office two days ago killed one man and injured several others.

Meanwhile, Afghan refugees compete with Pakistani natives in those areas for animal fodder and firewood. Wealthier Afghan refugees, some of whom have been enriched by the heroin traffic, have driven up real estate prices in Pakistani cities.

Soviet Gains as War Exhausts Afghans

By James Rupert

Washington Post Service

KANDAHAR, Afghanistan

Nearly seven years after Soviet forces poured into this country to prop up a faltering Communist regime, a combination of more sophisticated political tactics by the Soviet and the Afghan governments and a sense of exhaustion among the population has begun to weaken support for the Moslem resistance movement.

Having pursued a scorched-earth military policy that has devastated much of rural Afghanistan in recent years, the Soviet Union and its surrogates in the Afghan government now are increasingly using more subtle methods of winning cooperation from Afghans weary of war.

In the latest evolution of Soviet strategy in Afghanistan, Moscow and Kabul are appealing to the country's Islamic traditions and using cash bribes to erode popular support for the anti-Communist resistance fighters, or mujahidin.

They also have escalated their campaign to intimidate Pakistan into reducing its support for the resistance with a combination of political and military pressures.

Pakistan is the funnel for most of the arms and supplies being provided by the United States and other countries. From two million to three million Afghan refugees are in Pakistan.

Interviews and observations from reporting trips to Afghanistan in November 1985 and in July and September of this year, and two months of recent travel in the bordering areas of Pakistan, suggest that the Soviet Union and the Afghan government it controls are scoring significant, if partial, successes.

The Soviet Union has carefully limited its casualties in Afghanistan by deploying no more than 115,000 to 120,000 troops, in mostly defensive positions. Western estimates put Soviet deaths at 10,000 to 15,000 since their December 1979 intervention.

The Afghans, by contrast, have suffered massively, with hundreds of thousands killed, their homes and land destroyed and probably more than a third of the population of about 17 million now living as refugees or displaced persons.

The ruins of Kandahar, once among the most prosperous cities in Afghanistan, starkly illustrate how this war has become a grinding contest of stamina. The de-



— Sardar Gurgeish,
Afghan tribal leader

struction of Afghanistan's economy, centered around its farmland and villages, has left the few people still living here impoverished and desperate to relieve the misery of their lives.

While Moscow and Kabul seem to have succeeded in forcibly prying away some of the resistance's civilian support inside Afghanistan, the regime appears unable to solidify in any dramatic way its own popular bases or strengthen its fractious and inefficient institutions.

Olivier Roy, a French scholar who travels frequently in Afghanistan, said that in certain zones where villages or local tribes are especially vulnerable to Soviet pressure, "the resistance leaders have no choice; they are forced to allow civilians to proclaim their neutrality and to accept the loss of many kinds of open support."

"Local notables have been 'won' to the government side not because they support the regime, but because they are defending their own interests," he said.

While it is not yet clear how or whether the guerrillas will adjust to the latest challenges, the combination of their tenacity and the continued inability of the Russians to build institutions that they might leave behind in Afghanistan promise an indefinite guerrilla struggle.

While many guerrilla commanders and fighters inside the country recognize the challenge posed by the recent Soviet tactics, resistance leaders based in Pakistan deny they are losing civilian backing.

With the protracted war ruining the economy, impoverished Afghans are increasingly vulnerable to the government's ability to purchase their services, or at least their neutrality.

Earlier this year, the government sent officials into villages south of Kandahar to express sympathy over the villagers' economic problems and to invite them to stop helping the mujahidin and accept government "protection" and economic aid.

"The people told" government officials, "they would only listen if the government got their sons out of jail — and [the government] did it," said Habibullah Karzai, a former Afghan diplomat and tribal leader from the Kandahar region who is now in the resistance.

Sardar Dost Mohammed Khan Gurgeish, a tribal leader from Afghanistan's southwest, said, "For the Soviets, money is more effective than their soldiers."

Many observers believe that the campaign to win popular cooperation through economic incentives has been strengthened by the political skills of Major General Najibullah, the country's leader since May.

Formerly Afghanistan's secret police chief, General Najibullah is regarded as particularly deft at manipulating the complex tribal loyalties of many Afghans in attempts to divide the resistance.

The Kabul regime is trying to adopt a more popularly acceptable Islamic image after years of having been regarded as an enemy of religion. General Najibullah regularly quotes the Koran in his speeches and is shown in the official Kabul media making frequent visits to mosques.

The government also has been holding a year-long series of local elections and is drafting a new constitution as part of a campaign to broaden and legitimize the organs of its rule.

In addition, military violations of Pakistani territory by Soviet-led forces increased dramatically this year, and Pakistan blames the Afghan secret police for a wave of sabotage and terrorist bombings in the Pakistani provinces bordering Afghanistan.

Pakistan's two western provinces bordering Afghanistan always have been politically troublesome for the central government in Islamabad.

In Pakistan, these two provinces carry the main burden of the war by being host for what is the world's largest refugee population. Pathan and Baluch tribesmen have seen their economic prospects stagnate or decline as they compete with the Afghans for jobs, land and even water.

Cautious Pakistani officials delayed for several months a U.S. program of economic aid for the mujahidin and their supporters inside Afghanistan, while Afghan and Pakistani sources said Pakistan had held up the delivery of U.S. Stinger anti-aircraft missiles to the guerrillas.

THE 10/7

POETRY continued from p. 1

But Khalili did not shirk politics despite the experiences of his childhood. He was taken prisoner by the Soviet army in a brief war in the 1930s and later emerged as the leader of a political party and as a close adviser and minister of the last king of Afghanistan.

All the time he remained a poet and became increasingly well known. His poems have been translated into Arabic, English and other languages and published in several countries.

Khalili was Afghanistan's ambassador in Iraq when the Communists seized power in an April 1978 military coup. He defied instructions to return home and went into exile. Now he fears he will die before he can return home.

Khalili lives in a home in the Pakistani capital provided by admirers, always conscious that Afghanistan is just 100 miles (160 kilometers) away.

"I am like an injured bird near his nest who cannot fly back. I live in hope I will again one day return to Afghanistan," he said.

Kabul's bazaar

By Tony Barber

in Kabul

JAPANESE radios, Indian tea, French soap, American toothpaste, West German shampoo, South Korean washing powder, Danish chewing-gum — you name it, the central bazaar in Kabul has it.

Raisins, walnuts, almonds, pistachio nuts, beans, ground peppers, melons, bananas, apples, lemons, tomatoes, marrows — there seems no limit to the variety of foodstuffs available in the bazaar's winding, dusty alleys.

"This is one of the best-kept secrets in Asia," one veteran Asian resident of the Afghan capital said admiringly.

Dealing in imported consumer goods, home-grown fruit and locally produced

carpets, clothes and jewellery, many merchants in Kabul are thriving despite almost seven years of war between Soviet and Afghan government forces and Moslem rebels.

The buyers are mainly Afghans.

Private traders control up to 80 per cent of Afghanistan's domestic trade and 45 per cent of its foreign commerce, and the Afghan government says it will continue to encourage the "national entrepreneurs, as they are officially known.

"In our country private ownership is being supported by the state, and it is developing," Afghanistan's leader, General Najibullah, told a group of foreign correspondents recently invited to Kabul.

Economic officials said the authorities provided land to the private sector at low prices and did not tax imported machinery and equipment, while banks supplied easy credit.

In agriculture, which is almost completely under private control, the authorities point to the thousands of tonnes of chemical fertilisers, pesticides and improved cotton and sugar beet seeds which they have given to villagers.

They say thousands of landless and small-holding peasants have received land and are also benefiting from expanding irrigation systems.

Nevertheless the war has caused considerable disruption to the economy. Out of a pre-war population

variously estimated at 15, 17 or 18 million, about four million Afghans have gone into exile in Pakistan, Iran and Western countries.

The government estimates inflation is running at an annual rate of about 20 per cent because of the war, but says that this is lower than in other developing countries.

Workers at state-run institutions — still only a small minority of the population — are cushioned against inflation by subsidised prices, while social services such as housing, education and hospitals are also being developed.

Kabul's economy has been placed under strain by an influx of villagers escaping the war that Afghan officials say has caused the capital's population to boom to two million. Western diplomats in Kabul said the figure could be even higher.

Nor is everyone thriving in Kabul's bazaar. Several merchants and private shop-owners told Western reporters that business was down since Soviet forces intervened in Afghanistan in December 1979.

"Sometimes the Russians buy small antiques, but I have never sold them a carpet," one dealer in Afghanistan's internationally famous hand-knotted rugs said.

He said Soviet soldiers and other personnel tended to visit shops marked with the sign "tovarishch magazin" — Russian for "comrade store".

The Afghan authorities introduced a five-year economic plan this year which foresees increased extraction of raw materials, the development of construction and textile industries and improved transport systems — vital in the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan.

Soviet commerce is steadily expanding with Afghanistan, and Moscow now accounts for 65 per cent of Kabul's foreign trade. Almost all Afghanistan's natural gas, its main export, goes to the Soviet Union.

Western diplomats said these sales were important for Kabul since Soviet aid

to Afghanistan largely took the form of loans requiring repayment rather than outright grants.

To a visitor from Moscow, it is not only the wide range of Western and Asian goods on sale in Kabul's central bazaar that causes surprise.

Bazaar merchants say they import most consumer goods through the Soviet Union because transit costs are cheaper... and the bazaar merchants display a knowledge of international exchange rates that would impress many a foreign banker. — Reuter

HK Business Standard 10/31

Forced conviviality in Afghan capital

From CAROL WILLIAMS in Kabul

BRITISH diplomats in red-stained bandages and US embassy guards wearing surgical gowns mix during the weekly disco party at Kabul's German Club.

The costumes reflect the party's theme, the American TV show *M*A*S*H*, a comedy about a US army medical unit in the Korean War.

The party reflects the show's atmosphere of camaraderie born of shared hardships during wartime in a strange and distant land.

Many foreign residents of the Afghan capital come to the club every Friday night to talk about the week's activities, their friends back home, and the number of days or weeks or months they have left to serve in Afghanistan.

The group is an odd mixture of people cast together by the demands of diplomacy or business.

For some diplomats in Kabul, such as the Americans, the loneliness is compounded by the absence of their families, who are not sent to what is considered a hazardous assignment.

The party scene is frenzied, with splashes of genuine laughter. But there is an oppressive air of forced conviviality.

It is a rare chance for the foreigners to have a good time this week, before returning to the embassies and guarded enclaves where they nurture the few ties between the Afghan Government and the West.

They say they rarely venture into Kabul's bustling centre, where all Caucasians are presumed to be Soviet.

Hostile Afghans have been known to express their resentment of Soviet military intervention with stabbings or beatings in the public markets or shadowy side streets.

In the friendly confines of the German Club, a private organisation run by a group of West German businessmen, American rock music blares from a cassette tape player.

The high ceilings and archways of the stately rooms the club occupies are relics of the lost grandeur of this former private home.

Posters advertising German beers decorate the bar, though there is only one brand for sale.

The party began early, because all must be back to their homes by the 10 pm curfew.

Two Afghan waiters serve fried chicken and drinks paid for with club chips.

In one corner of the small room, a US Marine sergeant called Scooter from the US Embassy guard corps, who has only 45 days left on his tour in Kabul, talks buoyantly of his marriage plans and his next assignment in Seoul.

At 9.30 pm, the crowd breaks up. They head for their cars parked by the guard shack, with wishes for a safe week, until they meet again same time next Friday.

—Associated Press.

SCMP 10/24



A TYPICAL market scene in Kabul

COMRADELY CHARADE BELIED BY NIGHT
A report from Kabul by Carol Williams
in the SCMP of 11/12:

AS curfew approaches, a foreign visitor on the darkened streets of central Kabul catches a fleeting glimpse of the intrigue in this society divided against itself.

Men in turbans and knee-length tunics stand watch in the doorways of nearly every lamplight-carthen hovel. Soviet and Afghan soldiers pace the streets filled with workers and peasants scurrying home.

Rice steams in iron kettles and skewered meat sizzles on grills outside darkened storefronts and doorways as women—some in Western garb, others in the traditional Muslim chadari—prepare the evening meal.

Laws requiring Afghan women to wear the floor-length chadari were abolished decades ago but tradition is strong in a nation that is 99 per cent Muslim. Most women in the countryside and nearly half those in the capital still wear the veils of brown, gold, blue or green that allow them to see without being seen.

Streets empty long before the 10 pm curfew. Later, gravel is heard crunching underfoot beyond the 2.5 metre-thick walls enclosing blocks of single-storey dwellings—often ancient earthen huts or abandoned shipping crates converted to houses.

Men and boys dash from one enclave to another and disappear into the darkness. They are positioning themselves for the long night that will be punctuated by gunshots in the streets and artillery flashes from beyond the surrounding hills.

The few foreign visitors can only speculate on how those opposed to the Moscow-backed Government carry out their nightly sorties, harassing soldiers in the streets and in encampments that surround the embattled capital.

About 80 foreign journalists—mostly Soviet and East-bloc, but including about 30 Westerners—were brought to Kabul last month to watch select phases of the Soviet Union's token troop withdrawal.

The group saw much of the pullout, dismissed by United States officials as insignificant, and the Afghan Government's much-touted economic and social reforms.

But the weeklong visit shed little light on the complex social, political and religious differences that have fuelled Afghan fighting since the April 1978 revolution overthrew a constitutional monarchy.

The fighting is attributed to anti-Government sentiment. But Afghanistan was no stranger to violence before the revolution.

The barren, monochromatic mountains and lowlands were the stamping grounds of Genghis Khan and Alexander the Great, nomadic thieves and rival caravans.

Execution by stoning, public flogging or cutting off a thief's hand waned only 20 or 30 years ago. Kabul residents say religious extremists still surface at times to make vigilante attacks on those who have abandoned Islamic traditions, like the chadari.

The journalists' tour focused primarily on the elaborate and carefully orchestrated sendoffs for the 8,000 Soviets who left. The picture painted was one of Afghan-Soviet unity, belied by the nightly arrests.

The Government's obsession with security for their visitors said as much as the artillery blasts. And resentment of the Soviet presence was more evident than the Afghan hosts intended.

In Kabul's bustling central bazaar, where traders have flocked with their silks and spices for millennia, children who have learned Russian words from Soviet troops taunt all fair-skinned visitors, assuming they are Soviet.

Westerners in Kabul say they avoid the bazaar for fear of being mistaken for Soviets and attacked.

The journalists, who drove daily through the city in an armed bus convoy, tried to make the most of a rare chance to see Kabul and talk with Afghan officials. But the visit was treated by the Afghan media as an event in itself, part of the showy display of gratitude for the Soviet troops' assistance.

The reporters were photographed, filmed and asked for interviews about the "Soviet peace initiative".

The uneasy sense of being caught up in the propaganda sweep climaxed on the final day. The group was loaded on to open trucks at an anti-aircraft base just outside Kabul and paraded into the centre of town like conquering heroes along with Soviet tanks and armoured personnel carriers.

Afghans loyal to the Government lined the streets three-deep and threw flowers at the procession, while Soviet tanks destined to remain sealed off the parade route a block away. Afghan Government guides stood a cautious watch, apparently on the lookout for projectiles other than flowers.

No incidents marred the Government's show, but it was apparent that a massive security net was needed to protect the procession.



Above: Kabul has a calm and prosperous face. Below: Soviet-backed authorities discourage journalists from straying to the seedier parts of the city.



Heavy security was the rule throughout the visit. On the first evening, three reporters were admonished by a Government guide for trying to leave the hotel grounds at 5 pm for a glimpse of the city.

No one could leave the hilltop hotel without an Afghan interpreter provided by the Government, and the grounds beyond the front door were sprinkled with plainclothes security men who made sure the rules were followed.

Halfway down the hillside, on the single approach road to the hotel, an Afghan Army road-block prevented the uninvited from entering the area and the guests from leaving.

The Government's yearning to make a good impression was always apparent.

—Associated Press.

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Rival Afghans Come to Blows at U.N.

Who Should Speak for Afghanistan?

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Nov. 6 — The two sides in the Afghan war came to blows in the halls of the United Nations today, as Afghan diplomats assaulted visitors who represent an Afghan guerrilla group. The diplomats were trying to stop the representatives from holding a news conference.

Three members of Afghanistan's delegation to the United Nations attacked the two visitors as the visitors stepped off an escalator on the third floor of the United Nations building, said Mansour Suhail, a spokesman for the Pakistani Mission. Mr. Suhail was accompanying the two visitors who represent the anti-Government Islamic Union of Afghanistan Mujahadeen.

"It was the worst act of gangsterism I could have ever imagined," Mr. Suhail said. "No one expects this sort of thing from diplomats, particularly on U.N. premises."

Mr. Suhail said that three members of the Afghan Mission "pounded" on the two visitors "and began punching and shoving." He said the diplomats shouted, "You bandits, get out of here!" and pushed the visitors back through swinging glass doors toward an escalator.

'Thought It Could Become Worse'

"I tried to stop them, but I thought it could become worse," Mr. Suhail said.

The visitors, stunned by what they believed to be an attack by United Nations security guards, briefly tried to fight back, then retreated up the escalator to the fourth floor.

The diplomats tried to block the guerrilla representatives again when the visitors came back down in an effort to reach the clubroom of the United Nations Correspondents' Association, who was sponsoring the news conference. The visitors, this time knowing that their attackers were Afghan diplomats, shouted: "You K.G.B. agents, you Russian agents! We will take care of you!"

The diplomats yelled back, "Fools, get out!"

The two groups struggled again, until security guards arrived and separated them.

Meanwhile, one of the Afghan diplomats tried to prevent reporters from entering the room where the news conference was held.

The incident came a day after the General Assembly, in a 12 to 20 vote, approved a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of more than 100,000 Soviet troops backing the Afghan regime in their war against the guerrillas.

The Afghan diplomats refused to identify themselves to reporters, but a United Nations official said the security guards identified the three as Ebrahim Nengrahary, listed in the official United Nations directory as a first secretary, and Ali Ahmad Joushan and Mohaoudin Taeb, both second secretaries.

Earlier in the day, Mohammed Zarif the chief delegate of the Soviet-backed regime of Afghanistan, met with Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar to protest the news conference and to ask him to cancel it, a United Nations official said. Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar told Mr. Zarif that journalists accredited by the United Nations had the right to arrange a news conference in their own clubroom without United Nations interference, the official added.

One United Nations official said that Mr. Zarif had told Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar that the Afghan Mission would use violence to prevent the news conference. Despite the threat, the two guerrilla representatives were not accompanied by United Nations security guards when they entered the building. A United Nations official explained that the visitors had arrived earlier than security guards had expected.

At the news conference, Abdul Qadir Karyab, one of the guerrilla representatives, told journalists, "The force which was used by agents of the puppet regime is not a displeasure but a matter of honor to us." He added: "If not for the U.N. Charter, I would have given them a good lesson. But we are fighting for peace. That is why we are patient."

The two men who were attacked are part of a seven-member delegation representing seven major Afghan guerrilla organizations visiting the United States to win support for the guerrillas.

The two men were visiting the United Nations as guests of the Saudi Mission, but they were accompanied by Pakistani diplomats because the language Urdu is spoken in both countries.

Samir Shihabi, the chief Saudi delegate, when asked if he would protest the assault, said, "I must give this consideration."

NYT 11/7

A bizarre ruckus occurred at the United Nations when leaders of the Afghanistan resistance came to speak at a recent correspondents' lunch. They were attacked and pummeled by "diplomats" representing the Kabul regime, which owes its survival to the presence of 120,000 Soviet troops. The episode raises an interesting question: By what right does Kabul speak for Afghanistan in the General Assembly in the first place?

There's a powerful case in logic, justice and precedent for seating the Afghan resistance. Consider the parallel with another invaded country, Cambodia. For a decade the General Assembly has rejected the claims of the regime implanted by the Vietnamese and instead has recognized a resistance coalition whose incongruous partners include the neutralist former chief of state, Prince Sihanouk, and the mass-murdering Khmer Rouge.

The Afghan resistance speaks for more people and controls more Afghan territory than the Kabul regime. Since the Soviet invasion in December 1979, Afghans have voted with their feet against Kabul; a fourth of the country's 16 million inhabitants are now refugees in Pakistan and Iran. Although Kabul controls the cities, the insurgents rule most of the countryside. And no less important, despite lopsided U.N. votes condemning the invasion, the Soviet Union still refuses to fix a reasonable timetable on withdrawing its troops.

The atrocious human rights record of the Soviet occupiers and their Afghan proxies should also weigh heavily. A devastating report by the Human Rights Commission is being debated this week by the General Assembly. The report documents indiscriminate bombing, torture of prisoners, use of booby-trapped toys to maim children and denial of social and economic rights. It also offers this relevant judgment on the resistance: "It would seem that these opposition movements command the support of the vast majority of the population."

Commendably, the U.N. is no longer ingloriously mute concerning human rights outrages perpetrated by Communist regimes. An appropriate way to hold Kabul accountable for its crimes is to award Afghanistan's U.N. seat to the legitimate resistance claimants. The prospect of a vote on that may powerfully concentrate Soviet attention on ending a barbarous occupation. NYT 11/19

CONCERT

The World Music Institute will sponsor concerts by Ahmad Wali, a former Radio Kabul folk singer now living in Germany, in New York & Washington, D.C. in March. Details will be in the next issue.

From Amnesty Int'l: AFGHANISTAN: TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS. (Article by Nicholas Beeston in THE TIMES [London] of 11/19.)

Soviet occupation forces in Afghanistan, working with Afghan interrogators, have taken part in the torture of civilian prisoners since their invasion seven years ago, according to a report published today by Amnesty International.

Using evidence collected by former Afghan prisoners now living as refugees outside the country, the human rights group claims that civilian detainees are subjected regularly to electric shocks, beatings and other forms of torture and that several people are reported to have died following interrogation.

The report, called *Afghanistan: Torture of Political Prisoners*, claims that people suspected of supporting the

anti-communist guerrillas are arrested by agents of the Khedmat-e-Etelaat-e-Dawlati (Khad), the state information service, and subjected to torture in several centres across the country.

Many witnesses said that Soviet personnel were present when prisoners were tortured and that they often appeared to be directing the interrogation.

In a few cases Russians were accused of actually taking part in electric-shock torture, using a device referred to as the "telephone", in which wires are attached to sensitive parts of the body and the handle on a small machine turned to generate electricity.

One Afghan bank em-

ployee, aged 29, recalls: "They applied the wires to my fingers and first one Afghan pulled the handle and after that the Soviet also pulled the handle once."

Former prisoners, who asked for their names not to be published, also reported having been beaten with clubs, wire cables and rubber lashes. Other forms of physical abuse included being deprived of sleep and being made to stand for long periods, sometimes in cold water or snow.

Women prisoners said that they were also tortured, and the report says that there are consistent accounts that women were forced to watch the torture of male detainees.

ons are also criticized, and the report says that detainees are often kept for long periods in solitary confinement or in overcrowded prisons like Pul-e Charkhi, outside Kabul, which was built for 5,000 inmates but now houses 10,000 people.

Amnesty claims that the torture and arrests without trial are a contravention of Afghan and international law.

The group said that it tried to contact President Gromyko of the Soviet Union and President Babrak Karmal of Afghanistan about the allegations. There was no response from either government.

Afghanistan: Torture of Political Prisoners (Amnesty International, 5 Roberts Place, London EC1R 0EJ, £2.50).

From SITUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN AFGHANISTAN (A/41/778)

prepared by Felix Ermacora.

Special Rapporteur of the UN Commission on Human Rights for presentation to the 41st UN General Assembly. Distributed 10/31/86.

"During the period in question, on the basis of reliable information brought to the attention of the Special Rapporteur, the following new features of the present situation in Afghanistan were identified: a) Afghan refugees continue to arrive in the neighboring countries & now number about 5m, which in itself constitutes a human rights problem; b) The military offensive operations in the Afghan provinces adjacent to Pakistan (Paktia, Paktika, Nangarhar & Konar), to the Islamic Republic of Iran (Herat & Farah) & to the Soviet Union (Konduz) have been intensified; c) There is increasing evidence of attempts to stir up tribal conflicts & to use Pakistan tribal chiefs in operations for abducting both Afghans & foreigners. In addition to these new elements, humanitarian law continues to be infringed by the brutalities of the military operations; moreover, acts of sabotage committed by elements that have infiltrated into Pakistan... have become more frequent in the period under review...

The situation of human rights in Afghanistan continues to be a source of the deepest concern because of the seriousness of the suffering to which the civilian population in Afghanistan, especially the women & children, are subjected & because of the magnitude of the economic, social & cultural problems confronting the millions of refugees, whose numbers are growing steadily... Indiscriminate bombing & the continued use of anti-personnel mines, including booby-trap toys, still cause many casualties among the civilian population. In fact, the brutality of the conflict, which has been underlined in previous reports, has not diminished... In addition to the threat to the other fundamental rights... serious allegations of torture during Khad interrogations persist. The application of torture continues to be current practice. Furthermore, prison conditions for political detainees have not improved, while alarming reports have been received of severe disciplinary punishment within the prisons.... In areas outside direct gov't control... the civilian population is in a precarious situation. The majority of the Afghan population cannot be guaranteed their basic economic, social & cultural rights without outside assistance, mostly provided by non-governmental organizations... The (se) refugees have no representation either inside or outside their own country. This in itself constitutes a denial of their rights to self-determination... The Special Rapporteur concludes... that the armed conflict... has led to serious violations of human rights & to intense human suffering. Every effort must be made to end it."

127th in public education and 119th in the adequacy of health care.

All in all, the people were deprived not only of socio-economic rights but practically of all political and civil freedoms. No freedom of the press existed. Racial, national, religious and linguistic discrimination was widespread. Women were deprived of all rights, individual and social and nothing was heard of the equality of rights of men and women.

The imperialist countries which hysterically make a hue and cry about the so-called violation of human rights in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan had been more than complacent about Afghanistan's appalling backwardness under kings and feudal lords. It was taken for granted that 50 percent of the children should die and that women should be slaves. It

stitution of the country's
decisions, ensures and
guarantees the following
rights and freedoms for all
the citizens. The right to
lead a secure life, full
freedom of practicing reli-
gious rites, the right to
work, the right to health
protection, the right to
education, the right to free-
ly and openly express
one's opinions, the right
to participate in state af-
fairs and all aspects of social
life, etc.

In full compliance with the United Nations' Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the PDPA and the DRA state forge ahead towards the humane and lofty objectives of April Revolution. The smoke-screen and the so-called violation of human rights in the past will disappear once and for before the world public. (Pv Narwan)

KNT 9/18

NATIONAL
COMPROMISE
COMMISSION

Abiding by the position of the party and state which is in accord with the tenets of Islam the Politburo of the PDPA, CC and Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the PDPA have approved the formation of a commission for national compromise in DRA aimed at ensuring nationwide peace and preventing imperialist counter-revolutionary interference and fratricide for realization of the objectives of Afghanistan.

Based on this decision the national compromise commission will be set up within the framework of National Fatherland Front of the DRA.

KNT 9/28

Human rights in DRA:

The PDPA-led April (Saur) Revolution of 1978 had triumphed on the basis of the objective development of the Afghan society to meet the long-cherished aspirations of the broad masses of people for genuine popular power. The revolution performed its clear and simple goals, i.e., prospering the country and realizing authentic improvements in the life of the Afghan working people.

The deep-going and revolutionary transformations, being carried out in line with the interest of the broad strata of the coun-

ing manner, was confronted from its very inception with bitter and growing resistance from international impartialism and the masses. The enemies of the revolution, primarily the White House, making use of various pretexts, launched widespread and well-coordinated

intensity was disseminated and scope of this undeclared war. In order to understand the facts and fictions about human rights in Afghanistan we will review some of the statistics prevailing prior to the revolution.

Afghanistan was one of the poorest countries in the world with an average per capita annual income of \$60. It ranked 178 in a country with 63 doctors and 1.8 hospital beds

for every 10,000 people.¹ The death rate of children under five years of age was 50 per cent. Life expectancy was 40 years and illiteracy rate was 90 percent. That of women being 95 percent. Only 28 percent of million-dollar drives went to the 4,200 villages, 70 of which were hovel.

Suffice it to say that the UN in an overall survey of world health and literacy conditions, listed

Phillip Bonosky that "One of the fundamental tasks of the revolutionary power in our country is comprised of ensuring genuine democracy in the interest of millions of people. One of the objective grounds for the realization of genuine democracy is embodied in the elections to the local organs of state power and administration."

Accordingly, the Fundamental Principles of the DRA (provisional)

Listen, and You Can Hear a Holy War Next Door

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

PESHAWAR, Pakistan — This Tuesday evenings are chilly now in the dusty old city on Pakistan's northwest frontier, and people say that soon the cold weather will again curtail the fighting in the rugged hills of neighboring Afghanistan.

In the makeshift office of a guerrilla group fighting the six-year-old war, a commander has just returned from the front. He says that throughout the country, people have fled their villages and farms to escape Russian bombardments.

"Every child you meet has someone in the family killed by enemy forces," said the commander, Mulla Malang, folding his legs on the floor.

With a pained smile, he scoffed at the notion of a negotiated settlement to the war and said: "If that happened, it would only be confirmation that the United States and Russia want to drink the blood of the people of the world. We will keep fighting until we win."

A Place to Listen

For centuries, Peshawar has served as the gateway between central Asia and the subcontinent, a place for gossip and intrigue. The city's most famous bazaar is Khasa Kahani, or Street of the Storytellers. Here, one always comes to listen.

These days, the stories are of a drawn-out war, despite great losses on all sides; they are of major victories and grievous setbacks, and of savage infighting among the Communists — and among the Afghans fighting them.

"The information network is incredible," said Mike Peterson, a California chiropractor who put his practice on hold in order to come and train Afghans to become paramedics. "All the Afghans here seem to know instantly what's happening behind the lines."

The other day, a guerrilla spokesman told a reporter that an Afghan pilot flying a Soviet-built jet had just defected and landed at a nearby Pakistani airstrip. Hours went by before the Pakistani Government got word and made the announcement.

Facts are especially hard to verify here. One of the biggest is that the United States and Saudi Arabia, among others, are funneling hundreds of millions of dollars a year into the hands of the Afghan fighters.

Nobody really denies this, but in order to retain ties to the Kabul Government, Pakistan must continue to say that it is not true, and guerrilla groups go along with the pretense.

As a result, Peshawar is a place where an American seen riding a bicycle is often presumed by intrigue-

conscious residents to be an agent of the Central Intelligence Agency.

"You see a lot of Westerners wandering around here," said Prof. Syed Bahauddin Majrooh, a former faculty dean at Kabul University who now heads the Afghan Information Center in Peshawar. "Nobody really knows what they do."

There is, for instance, the unconfirmed report that has circulated for months that some guerrilla groups have received shoulder-launched Stinger missiles to shoot down Soviet aircraft. If true, military experts say, it would potentially alter the balance of the war.

"All I know is that we don't have them," said an Afghan leader. But he added that he had heard a rival group had just received some Stingers.

50 Relief Agencies

In fact, a lot of Westerners here do not work for the C.I.A. There are 200 Westerners with some 50 different relief agencies providing services to refugees in camps up and down the border with Afghanistan. The latest trend among a few groups is to give training to Afghans so they can become paramedics in the war itself.

At one such training camp, financed by the United States and run by Freedom Medicine, Afghan trainees were recently taking a break to play volleyball at dusk.

Resting after a game, an Afghan said there was widespread disillusionment among his friends about the commanders of the insurgency. "Too many of them stay in Peshawar and talk and talk," he said, adding that Kabul had lately had some success in infiltrating the insurgency. "Secret agents are everywhere. Some of these commanders are afraid they will get killed by traitors."

Little Unity Among Groups

There are seven major guerrilla groups, and their divisions are a major source of frustration to Americans and Pakistanis. Last year, some guerrillas fought fierce battles among themselves, but by all accounts the infighting has subsided.

The groups are essentially divided into two camps — one Moslem fundamentalist, the other a bit more secular and willing to accept the old order that existed before the 1978 Communist coup that led to the Russian intervention in 1979.

"These guys are sometimes more interested in arguing now about what kind of an Islamic republic Afghanistan should be than in winning the war," a diplomat in Islamabad said.

One of the best places to hear about the "holy war" is at Darra, a town 25 miles south of here that for more than a century has been the weapons capi-

tal of this part of the world. One drives there through rocky mountain passes and past groves of poplar and eucalyptus trees.

Guns and More Guns

Like a place out of the Wild West, Darra echoes with gunfire every 30 seconds or so. It is the sound of people testing rifles, shotguns, pistols and other weapons that can be purchased at any of the dozens of shops lining the main street.

Behind the shops, workmen busily manufacture the weapons by hand, pounding molten iron into shape and boring holes through gun barrels. "These are all going for jihad," said a grease-stained man, referring to the "holy war" and pointing at a stack of newly minted Kalashnikov rifles.

Pointing to another gun, designed after the American Winchester rifle, he said, "This used by the cowboys."

A rifle purchased retail here costs a little less than \$100, a fraction of the cost elsewhere in Pakistan. For that reason, Darra is a magnet for people who need or want weapons. The guns used in the Karachi airplane hijacking in early September, in which 21 people died and scores were wounded, came from Darra.

The stories here, as elsewhere, are that the Communists in Kabul remain divided among themselves. Have you heard, asks a gun salesman, that Babrak Karmal, the ousted Afghan leader, is leading his own faction against the new leader, Najibullah?

An Afghan guerrilla leader adds: "We know the Communists are painting all the mosques and buying off the mullahs to get political support. But the Afghan people will not be fooled. They will not give up the fight."

NYT 11/14



A small girl contemplates her new surroundings in a Peshawar refugee camp.

11/19

Americans Train Afghan Guerrillas as Medics

By A. E. HARDIE

Three years ago, Gay-LeClerc Brenner, a lawyer, and her husband, Robert, a private fire investigator, quit their jobs in Sacramento, Calif., to find something to do, as she put it, "for the good of other people."

A solution presented itself, Mrs. Brenner said, when her husband accompanied some friends to a "Soldier of Fortune" convention in Las Vegas, Nev., where he heard a speech by an Afghan guerrilla commander, Hassan Gailani of the National Islamic Front. Mr. Brenner came back with an idea: the couple could provide medical assistance to parts of the world in need.

Now the Brenners, through a private medical relief group that they and six other people founded with \$30,000 of their own money, operate a medical training program in Pakistan for Afghan guerrillas, as well as two clinics for Afghan refugees.

Mrs. Brenner said the group, called Freedom Medicine, was nonpolitical but worked with the Afghan guerrilla movement because the guerrillas and their civilian sympathizers "are in great need of medical care." Ms. Brenner is now in Washington, D.C., to recruit volunteers and raise money for medical supplies; her husband is in Pakistan.

Ms. Brenner had made trips to Afghanistan before the first Freedom Medicine center, called Fort Freedom,

opened last February at a refugee camp at Thal, south of the Khyber Pass and about 10 miles from the Afghan border. Ms. Brenner said that while she was in Afghanistan, she counted fewer than 50 doctors and medically trained people, most of them foreigners, treating Afghan guerrillas.

Ms. Brenner said Freedom Medicine's main objective was to train Afghan guerrillas in Pakistan to become medics and then send them back to Afghanistan to set up clinics. "It is better to empower the Afghans to do it themselves," Ms. Brenner said.

In the six-month training program, 16 students selected by Afghan guerrilla commanders are taught by medical volunteers to diagnose and treat problems such as diarrhea, measles, malaria and tuberculosis.

Ms. Brenner said the students were also given an extensive course on security measures since she heard from Afghan guerrillas that the Afghan Government is offering a \$10,000 bounty for foreign doctors and a \$1,000 bounty for Afghan doctors, who aid the Afghan resistance. She also said that villages with foreign doctors were special targets of bombings.

Ms. Brenner said the students were told to set up their clinics in caves, bury their supplies and not to carry identification. "Targets in battle are the

commanders and medical people," Ms. Brenner said. "One medical person can save 10 lives."

Part of the students' training consists of treating some of the 200,000 refugees who live in the camp at Thal. Ms. Brenner said that since Freedom Medicine opened an outpatient clinic there last March, thousands of refugees had come seeking medical help. In December, Freedom Medicine will open a 30-bed surgical hospital that was built by the refugees at Thal.

Two months ago Freedom Medicine built a second outpatient clinic in Chitral, in northernmost Pakistan. The clinic operates in cooperation with two other organizations that provide medical assistance to Afghan refugees — Medical Training for Afghans, a French and Belgian group, and the Swedish Committee, a similar group organized to provide medical training for Afghans.

The first group of students graduated from Freedom Medicine's training program last August. The second group of students began training in September and another group will begin in December.

Ms. Brenner said Freedom Medicine operates on donations from individuals, groups such as the Afghanistan Relief Committee in New York and a \$123,000 grant from the United States Agency for International Development.

NYT
11/16

AFGHAN TIME WARP?

By Rhea Talley
Stewart in the 11/2
Hartford Courant

The Soviets would have the West believe that Afghanistan had progressed no further than the 18th century before the Red Army kindly occupied it in late 1979.

This impression serves two purposes. It lends an air of beneficence to an occupation noted for its bloodiness. And with a little nudge of propaganda, it arouses in the West fears that if the freedom fighters should win, they would make Afghanistan into another Iran, impossible for the West to deal with.

Consider the regimented tour conducted recently in Kabul for 100 journalists. They were there to watch a fraction of the occupying Soviet troops depart for home, probably soldiers who would have departed anyway but not to so much fanfare.

Suddenly the carefully orchestrated spectacle gave way to a demonstration of real emotion, against Naji-

bullah, the current Soviet puppet in power. The Soviets could not tolerate this, especially since most of the journalists were from Iron Curtain countries that should not receive the impression that any reaction is possible except wide-eyed admiration. Abruptly the journalists were sent home.

Camels and turbans were part of the scenery they had been witnessing. The Soviet stage directors could have limited the mise-en-scène to automobiles and three-piece suits. But it suited the Soviet purpose to put a camel-driver next to a modern motorized vehicle and encourage the impression that he never saw an automobile before.

The Soviets are gambling that Americans consider a picture worth a thousand words and dearly love one. Indeed Americans do. It is reported that the handlers of Vice President George Bush's recent visit to Jordan insisted on having camels at all the photo opportunities, although Jordan had to scrounge for its camels. Bush was a long way from home, and his handlers wanted the folks at home to

know how far.

The Soviets want us to know how far away in time the Afghans were until Mother Russia took them in hand.

This trap engulfed the most recent group of freedom fighter leaders who came to the United States seeking aid. They unwisely wore traditional baggy pants and turbans, although this is not what the doctor of engineering, for instance, wears before his university classes in Sweden. As a result they were amply photographed.

But there must have been guffaws in the Kremlin when the same newspaper carried on its front page a photograph of an Afghan farmer in his opium poppy field and on an inside page a photograph of an educated freedom fighter talking with senators — and the pair looked just alike.

In fact, Afghanistan has been advancing steadily since World War II, despite little and late aid from the West.

For example, the Soviets boast that they unveiled Afghan women for the first time. The fact is that women were unveiled in 1959. It was not compulsory for a woman

to be "open," as the Afghans put it. A woman might veil or not, as she pleased, and some women chose the veil.

Today the puppet regime in Kabul makes it illegal to go outside wearing a veil. So who are those veiled ladies in front of any television cameras admitted under controlled conditions? They are obviously in fancy dress, to show what the Soviets are freeing Afghans from.

The love life and marriage of Najibullah himself is a mark of Afghan progress. A poor young man from a nomadic family, he would never have been able, a generation earlier, to attend college and then medical school. But he did. He never would have met any women at all.

But he met a great-niece of former King Amanullah of Afghanistan, who was enjoying her own freedoms. They fell in love. He belonged to a tribe long antagonistic to hers. It was Romeo and Juliet. The woman's family, which in earlier years would have called a servant to throw Najibullah out, considered that here was an educated man, a man of presence and, besides, the woman loved him. They permitted the marriage.

Now a German publication is listing among the attributes of Najibullah his aristocratic family connections. He may possibly, say his supporters, reconcile the upper classes of Afghanistan to the Marxist government thrust upon them. . . .

Potemkin lives.

by Askold Krushelnicky, Kabul

John Pearson



Much vaunted Soviet pull-out - "but more troops pour in"

CONFUSION and desperation are rife in the Soviet and Afghan military commands in Afghanistan. There is deadly quarrelling between communist factions. And fighting troops are demoralised and disaffected, according to Said Hashmatullah Zori, until last month a general in the Russian-backed Afghan army.

Hashmatullah said that the Kremlin was frustrated with the course of its war and blamed its own officers for repeated failures.

"In April and May there were two offensives and for some days in April the first assistant to the Soviet defence minister personally commanded the troops trying to destroy the mujaheddin in Zhawar. It took 10 days and the offensive was a failure, with about 900 Afghan and Soviet troops killed," he said.

He claimed that Afghan troops never operated independently in attacks: "The Russians always plan the attacks and we execute them. Afghan officers are not involved at the highest strategic levels."

When asked about the much-publicised withdrawal from Afghanistan of six regiments of Soviet troops, Hashmatullah smiled wryly: "There were thousands of fresh Russian troops coming into the country in the summer. Half the troops withdrawn were from anti-aircraft regiments which had never been used in the seven years that they were in Afghanistan. The war is going badly for the Russians and I think that they will involve more troops."

The Soviet army has this year claimed considerable gains at the expense of the mujaheddin guerrillas, but Hashmatullah, an experienced infantry commander

who defected to the rebels just weeks after Afghanistan's new strong-man, Dr Najibullah, promoted him from colonel, painted a completely different picture.

Hashmatullah, who passed information to the guerrillas for five years, claimed that only about 6,000 of the regime's 30,000-strong army were considered reliable and loyal to Kabul.

"I used to hold meetings with my men where I told them not to fire at the mujaheddin during an engagement but to shoot into the air. There was so much sympathy for the mujaheddin that I was not afraid that I would be betrayed. I don't think we ever killed many mujaheddin."

In September Hashmatullah was recalled to Kabul and he thought that he might fall victim to the purge that began after Babrak Karmal was relegated to the position of figurehead president. Much to his surprise, Hashmatullah was promoted to general but he made contact with the mujaheddin in Kabul who helped him and his family escape to Pakistan.

He defected to the largest of the main seven Islamic insurgent groups, Hezbi Islami, whose leader, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, is annoyed that the war has been portrayed as swinging in favour of the Russians.

Hekmatyar said: "The resistance is now in a better position than at any time before. We are stronger and better organised. In the last seven months the activity of the mujaheddin was higher than for the whole of 1985."

BUT WAR TAKES TOLL

WITH a group of mujaheddin from the Hezbi Islami insurgent group I revisited some of the areas in Afghanistan's Paktia and Logar provinces I had first seen in 1980, writes Askold Krushelnicky.

Despite their optimism, it was obvious that the mujaheddin were operating under vastly more difficult circumstances than those of six years before. The most pressing problems are food and medicine. Malnutrition has reached epidemic proportions with hundreds of children dying.

The countryside is without doubt mainly controlled by the mujaheddin but communist troops have succeeded in almost entirely eradicating agricultural activity.

Where I remembered neat fields of wheat there were now scrubby lunar wastelands pockmarked by bomb craters and blackened by napalm. Villages which had clung to a semblance of normality in the first year of the war had been levelled by bombing.

But rebel discipline and organisation have improved and several groups have permanent bases, protected by anti-aircraft batteries, along the Afghan-Pakistan border.

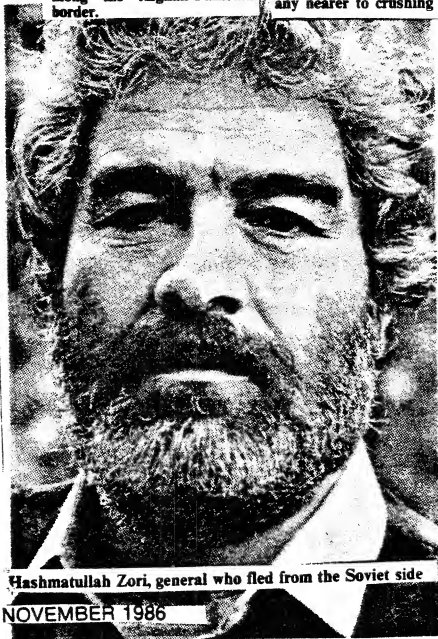
The guerrillas seemed satisfied with their weapons. The Kalashnikov rifle is the standard weapon of both sides and most groups have rocket-propelled grenade launchers.

The weapons are of Soviet origin, but they have also been manufactured for many years by Soviet satellite states and China. Arab countries once armed by Russia and China have contributed much war material and the rich Gulf countries, swayed by the Afghans' argument that they are fighting a holy war, have been generous.

America has begun providing some mujaheddin groups with Stinger heat-seeking missiles for use against the helicopters which remain the scourge of the resistance fighters.

Morale seemed high and the leader of our group, Gulab Gul, said: "After seven years the Russians cannot control the countryside, they can only destroy it. They control only parts of the cities and when their convoys come out we destroy them." ...

The mujaheddin seem capable of maintaining indefinitely the present level of attrition. They cannot win but neither can the Russians get any nearer to crushing them.



Hashmatullah Zori, general who fled from the Soviet side



AN OPEN ROUND-TABLE DISCUSSION ON THE AFGHANISTAN PROBLEM

There should be no objection to such assistance. If some object and claim that such aid may be harmful, then the question of cooperation and aid between Muslims will become nullified.

"The help extended by a Muslim to another Muslim is a basic principle in Islam. It must not be mistaken with those mixed up in prejudices under the pretext that this is just another problem like that of the Russians or some Muslims getting aid from Americans or from the British, because the assistance of such peoples is associated with imposition of their own religious, political and colonial views and ends against the oppressed peoples. The claim that anyone can take the help of pagans and then fool them so that they can't impose their colonial aims is erroneous. For they have been imposing their colonial and exploitative purposes on the oppressed peoples for so many years that they are now called the Satans of the time.

"Devils may be fooled by those who, like the devils, are smart in world affairs and have immense power, whereas, we, the combatants, have nothing except the power of faith. Therefore, our getting aid from Islamic countries, particularly from those where the Islamic movement is completely established, should not be regarded as malicious. Such aid, though not yet given, would not be spiteful, but would be the performance of a religious duty.

"We have not asked non-Islamic countries for anything, also, none have been ready to assist us with the problems relating to Afghanistan crusade (Jihad). We have been fighting with equipment taken as booty and the guns of our grandfathers."

*Mr. Seyyed Hussein Hashemi from Afghanistan's United Revolutionary Front.

"I cannot say definitely which country provides us with aid and which country

In order to study the socio-political changes in Afghanistan, a two-day round-table discussion was recently arranged in Tehran. Representatives of eight Afghan Mujahideen groups met and reviewed the following issues:

Partial withdrawal of aggressive Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the Geneva Conference, the unity of the combatants, policies of various Islamic countries towards the Afghanistan issue, relations between some Afghan combatant groups with evil powers and their puppet governments, enemy attempts to take advantage of tribal disputes among the Afghan people, the future Soviet plans in Afghanistan, recent changes in Afghanistan and changes in positions of key government personnel, and the role of the Afghan women in the crusade against Soviet aggressors.

As this open talk may provide better understanding of the problems of Afghanistan, it will be presented by Kayhan International in series.

"The views of Hojjatolislam Zahedi, an Afghan Islamic Jihad combatant on the exit of Soviet troops and the effect of this country's so-called first step toward withdrawal of six Russian regiments.

"The withdrawal of the limited number of six to seven thousand Russian troops will have no effect on the continuation of the Jihad and the solution of the problem of Afghanistan. This is because the forces that the Russians have announced to withdraw are all anti-aircraft personnel and since the Afghan combatants have no aircraft, therefore, the entrance of these forces and their presence here has been quite pointless to begin with. They have not affected the war in the least. Soviet leaders are trying to fool the world by this act.

"The Russians entered Afghanistan on the pretext that Americans had already occupied that country. We are going to help the government and the people of Afghanistan. This was a lie. They deployed some anti-aircraft units knowing that they would not be used, as the combatants have no aircrafts and they could be withdrawn any time to deceive the people of the world. But I think people are too smart to be deceived.

"After seven years of fighting and suffering great losses in lives and property, Russia was forced to review its policies and gave up the idea of occupying Afghanistan. The Russians have realized that the Afghan people are not like Eastern Europeans such as Poles, Romanians and Czechs. The Afghans are different, they can't be subdued easily. Soviet Union is now looking for a way out. But, how? It should be done in a face-saving manner. It is not only Russia, but Marxism is also involved. Russia's defeat in Afghanistan means not only the defeat of the Kremlin bosses but the defeat of Marxism.

"I see a similarity between the situation in Afghanistan today and the Prophet's (SAWA) war of the Moat when the Prophet (SAWA) declared that Islam is facing the entire paganism. Today the pagan force of the Marxist variety is on trial in Afghanistan. The point is that if Russian forces are thrown out of Afghanistan disgracefully, which they shall be at the hands of the Afghan fighters, it will not merely mean the Soviet defeat in this country. It will mean the defeat of Marxism in the world and the victory of Islam as a revolutionary and life-giving ideology, for the second time after its victory in Iran.

"That is why the Russians are now trying to save face by placing the Afghanistan problem before the U.N. and through indirect negotiations through Pakistan and the puppet Afghan regime. The reason why they withdrew their anti-aircraft units from Afghanistan was for them to be able to tell the world that we support peaceful solution for the problem in Afghanistan because we are withdrawing some of our forces."

*Mr. Moalavi Abdul-Vajid, Afghanistan Revolutionary Movement's Representative on approach of the Muslim governments toward the Islamic Revolution in Afghanistan:

"We have classified the stance of the Islamic countries with respect to the Revolution of Afghanistan: that of the movements (Islamic) another is that of the Muslim nations and the third is policy of the Muslim governments. We believe that the Islamic governments have in general, not done their Islamic duties and we have grievances against most of them. The majority of nations have morally and materially helped our revolution, above all the Iranians who are themselves involved in a war. We have great expectations from the Islamic Republic of Iran and we ought to. When the war is over our expectations of Iran will become known and we hope the brothers will perform their duties in the best way possible.

"Regarding the aids that the combatants receive, and whether such aids are lawful and permissible to accept, thanks God, all brothers (gathered here) know that governments should be grouped. Islamic laws and tenets stipulate whenever that pagans invade (some Muslim communities) it is a religious duty for all to come to the aid of fellow Muslims.

From the editor:

One of our subscribers wrote asking if we had gone Marxist because we reported that the DRA had received a UNESCO award. As we have stated many times, we report what is being said, done, thought & written about Afghanistan & Afghans, from as many sources as come to our attention. We report gossip, rumor & propaganda & we rejoice at the rare appearance of a fact, even though it may be unpleasant. The facts are that many unpleasant things are happening in Afghanistan and to Afghans, on all sides, as this issue will illustrate.

Once again it is renewal time. Those whose subscriptions expire with this issue will find a handy order form enclosed. May we remind our foreign subscribers (including Canada) that payment by check must be in US dollars drawn on a US (preferably a New York) bank.

Should you wish to receive a copy of our soon-to-be released almost complete Directory of Organizations Involved with Afghanistan, please enclose an additional \$3.00 & your copy will come with your March issue.

We hope you will continue to send us articles, clippings, news, cartoons & photographs. We appreciate all information & we use as much as we can cram into our 36-page format. We shall have an "Abstracts" section in the March issue so if you have given a paper or are writing an article, please send us a brief summary so we may include it. The deadline for the issue is 2/15.

The editor apologizes to the proofreader for the typo which appeared just above his name in the last issue. We retyped it after he read it! The same proofreader asks us to remind you that we use the spellings that appear in the publications cited. They are not necessarily those that he approves of!

Mary Ann Siegfried, Editor & Typist
Leonard Oppenheim, Proofreader & Treasurer

"Poetry Can Be a Weapon..."
from the KOREA TIMES 12/4/86

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (AP) — After a lifetime of writing poetry about love and beauty, Kahlilullah Khalili has turned his attention to hatred and death.

Khalili, considered one of Afghanistan's finest living poets, writes poetry to inspire Afghan guerrillas fighting the country's Soviet-backed government.

"Before the Russians invaded Afghanistan, I wrote about the beauty of nature. I was a poet of flowers, of mountains, of clear and beautiful rivers and of the people," said Khalili.

"Since the Russians invaded Afghanistan I have become a poet of blood and tears, of suffering, atrocities and death," he told an interviewer in the small, book-lined room where he works and lives. . . .

"Poets must give something to the people. A poem can be a weapon in the hands of the people," Khalili said. . . .

Written in the Dari of Persian language of northern Afghanistan, Khalili's poems have a hard and unsparing message. He urges the guerrillas and their supporters never to think about when or if they will win the war, but just to keep on fighting whatever the cost.

In one poem, Khalili wrote:

"We are this bitter fruit, falling upon the earth.

"Thus are we in clutches of time.

"Oh spring of liberty, what else but you grace.

"Shall render this bitter fruit sweet?"

Khalili's poems urge this countrymen to endure bombing, starvation, torture and every kind of suffering. His stark message is always to keep on fighting even if everyone is killed. . . .

"If I did not write poems I would not be able to live because it is my only weapon to fight back. I am too old to take a gun now," he said. . . .

Khalili's life reflects the turbulent history of Afghanistan. His father was executed as a rebel by the ruling king when Khalili was 11 years old. . . .

The boy was placed under house arrest for 10 years by the vengeful monarch as part of a punishment inflicted on the Khalili family. Alone and confined, the boy started to write poems that showed promise, and he soon began to earn a reputation as a poet.

"Then another king came and broke the cages I and others were being kept in," he said.

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doesn't. The fight is not one between Afghans and Russians. It is not, for example, like the war between Iran and Iraq, nor is it like the one between Lebanon and Israel. Rather, if there is one, it is a war of ideologies and policies. Giving help is imperative and so is accepting it. If we do not get help from governments such as the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan is defeated as a result, who is to explain and will answer for it? This is one point.

"Other point involves other countries, especially the Islamic countries. Today the wealthiest country sitting on oil wells in the Middle East is Saudi Arabia. Shall we ask King Fahd for aid? What would he want in return? This is a rather sensitive issue. As we fight for the cause of God, we should get help from Arabian oil wells. But do they want to give it? How are we to get it then? This is another point. We who fight for God, have a right to these oil wells. Our right should be granted.

"I believe that a government revolution is neither within our line of activity nor in the direction of our movement, and we shall not accept it. Whenever and under any condition there be a governmental revolution, we must turn it into a revolutionary government. In our world, the governments we establish shall be revolutionary governments and not government revolutions. Islamic revolution has triumphed in Iran and it will be a revolutionary government along Islamic lines. The Islamic revolution will succeed in Iraq. We wish to see the entire world run by revolutionary governments.

"At present, conditions are not in our favor to eradicate colonial borderlines but we shall create an Islamic state. So much for relations with the world of Islam.

"(Regarding the idea of) accepting help from non-Islamic sources, say from the U.S.A., how can that be possible? When we fight Russians but shake hands with Americans, we cease to be revolutionaries, we are no longer Jihad fighters. Those who are fighting the U.S.A.,

will forfeit the originality and value of their revolution if they shake hands with the Russians. This is a truth we can never compromise. What can bring a revolution to victory is decisiveness. We are not sure whether Russia

wants the victory of Islam in the world. He who believes that friendship with Russia, whether in Lebanon or in other Islamic countries, can bring victory to Islam in those places should review his conception of Islam; should anyone who may believe that accepting American assistance will insure victory for Islam. How can America want Islam? Do we want America if we became victorious? Why should then America help a foe?

"Another point that will be made clear with the passage of time is that American aid may have been made, but only to fortify anti-Islamic bases in Afghanistan, not for use against Russia. This is between themselves. I shall explain this point further later on. But, whether or not the Muslims have accepted American aid, I do not know. However, I know that the Muslims have not fought with American help until this day. This is quite evident and the Afghan Muslim nation has well realized the point. They won't be manipulated by Americans just as they have not been manipulated by the Russians."

The speaker, appreciating the admission of more than one million Afghan refugees into the Islamic Republic of Iran, said that, "In other countries, if Afghan immigrants are let in, they are put in camps surrounded by barbed wires. The Islamic Republic of Iran has the most number of Afghan immigrants. An Afghan lives next to every Iranian family. Where on earth can you find such a thing? Such assistance should be related and retold. In relation with the Islamic

are behind such aids the acceptance of support whether from Islamic or non-

Islamic source, is not allowed.

"As we are pitted against a great military superpower in Afghanistan, we need assistance very badly. During the eight years of Jihad (crusade), our combatants



Republic of Iran, we observe the Islamic line. If some day a government comes to power in Iran and acts contrary to Islamic line, its aid will be treated like the help of a government which is outside the line of Islam. We judge such action according to its own merit."

"Mr. Moalavi Golrani from the Payravi Canonists Association.

"Since the struggle in Afghanistan and the unyielding resistance of the Afghan nation is a war to revive the rule of God and to smash the pagan aggression, it is incumbent on all Muslims, near and far, to assist as a religious duty. The Afghan nation is the subject of a most cruel aggression by a world's savage superpower. All those with conscience should help even those who have no religion. Giving aid is a human duty. Whether they help or not is up to them. But the Afghan nation is entitled to such assistance from all humanity, particularly from the Muslims.

"It is important to know who is the recipient of the aid and what are the circumstances. If based on human and or Islamic duties someone wants to offer aid to repel the aggressors in Afghanistan, without expecting anything in return, acceptance of such aid is permissible. But if political motives

have acquired valuable experiences. These experiences are beneficial and the Afghan combatants will take greater strides in the future, God willing. But, as yet, they have not been able to form a cohesive policy, organization and language. Under these conditions, accepting help from non-Islamic states whose specific but hidden motives are known, is not without danger."

"Moalavi Abdul Hayye from Ansar Al-Mahdi.

"With respect to the acceptance of aid by Afghan Muslims combatants from pagan countries or from countries allied with the superpowers and whether such aid affects the independence of the Afghan Mujahideen favorably or not, in my opinion, it concerns the donor and the recipient of such aid. The Muslim nation of Afghanistan, through Zaher Khan and men like him, has had experience of dependence on pagan states, one result of which is the current interference of Russia in Afghanistan. If,

God forbid, the beneficiary of aid follows a path similar to that of Zahir Khan, even if the dependence be on America, the result will be the same.

"It makes no difference to the Afghan Muslim nation whether interference is committed by Russia, the U.S.A., China, Japan, etc. The Afghan nation have awakened and realized during the past eight years that dependence on others leads to miserable end. To some extent, it depends on the donor of the aid. We should expect nothing from the pagan world. It is self-deception to believe that American aid is issued for purely humanistic reasons. If nothing else, such aid is a propaganda for Americans to tell the world that the Afghan Muslims are being led by America in their fight against Russia. Again, as I said before, in my opinion, it depends on both flanks, the giver and the receiver of aid."

X "The discussion was to be more limited to getting aid from the Islamic Republic of Iran and other Muslim States. Naturally, as was pointed out by my brothers, China, France, the U.S. and other Western countries are to be seen in a special light. However, I believe there are several points that need to be remembered. First of all, no country will provide any military or financial aid for a nation or revolution without expecting something in return. This goes for America, China, France and even for the Islamic Republic of Iran. They all have some motives in providing assistance. It is false to say they expect nothing at all for this or that help. The question is to find out their motives!

"Secondly, just as science was used to make slaves of the people, religion might be abused for the same purpose. From this, we can conclude that even if our country is Islamic, our people recite their prayers and all proclaim that "There is no god but single God", meaning that we are monotheistic these, do not remove any of our cares and anxieties.

"Another point to remember is that the Islamic Republic of Iran is in a certain situation today. It may be in a different circumstance tomorrow. We have no guarantee that conditions will be the same in this country,

say 50 or 100 years later. Since the Islamic Republic of Iran is today led by Hazrat Imam Khomeini who has nothing in mind and no objective other than Islam, the help they give, if any, is for the realization of this purpose. We believe in this objective. Imam Khomeini wishes to maintain the rule of the Quran and Islamic government in Afghanistan and we give our lives for these aims to be fulfilled. We suffer and tolerate all hardships for these aims. If this is dependence, we are for it. This is not false dependency.

"In our religious textbooks we read that a certain leader of our religion was asked to pray that God do not put us in need of our fellow humans. They said "Ask God not to make us needy of His bad creatures". The World is one of needs. Anyone claiming he has no need (of others) is making a false claim. We need help, if I say dependence, it is a specific thing. If I say that need does not cause dependence, this is not in line with our ideological view. Our teachings tell us that whenever one needs someone else, surely he bows to him and leaves himself at that man's disposal. Well, this is a specific point but we only have to see who the giver of assistance is!

"Right now the Islamic Republic of Iran gives the aid and this republic seeks the things for whose realization we sacrifice our lives. Thus, experience has proved that pagan states, whether those who talk of human rights or those who speak of the imaginary communist paradise or those who wave the banner of socialism, are all up to some deception. We, of course, are alert to these. However, we can even accept the aid of these people and this is to make sure we consider their assets (the things they give as aid) as booty. However, in this aspect of the problem we regard all or part of the assistance of the Islamic Republic of Iran, not aid. But as our own."

"On Shia-Sunni differences, enemy's plots to take advantage of such conflicts and Mujahideen's efforts to sustain Muslim unity in Afghanistan.

Mr. Qari Ahmad from the Hezbollab: "Divide and rule", an evil principle always made use of by the colonialist powers is being practiced in Afghanistan at present. The

Russians, who initially started a similar campaign and invested a lot on it, and having failed to achieve their purpose now indulge in a different tactic; that of pitting Shi'ites against Shi'ites and Sunnis against Sunnis. Cunningly, they made use of traditional differences as well as national, racial, linguistic and political rivalries normally existing among the different tribes, towards this end. This was a serious problem for the Mujahideen in 1982 reaching its climax in 1984. It has substantially subsided at present because the Mujahideen have realized the evil aims of the enemy. However, the colonialists are not discouraged on the issue of Shia-Sunni differences. In a subtle way, they want to keep the flame burning. For instance, while reporting on the Jihad in Afghanistan, the Western media tries to keep up the rivalry between the followers of the two major Islamic faiths by giving credit to a particular faith for some spectacular achievement. Most of the Mujahideen and their leaders, fortunately, have become aware of this strategy and believe that no attention should be paid to such propaganda. So, by the grace of Allah, the Mujahideen today are more united than ever. We do hope that in the near future all concerned parties would come to an understanding and agreement on all the basic issues relevant to the fate of the revolution.

Mr. Hussaini of Sazman Nasr:

I would like to point out here that in most cases what is reflected outside Afghanistan about the Mujahideen and their continued struggle against the oppressors or the internal differences between various factions are most of the time conflicting. People outside Afghanistan form wrong notions about us after listening to such news. They think that we are all the time engaged in fighting with each other. The truth is that the situation is not as serious as that. Those of us who are with the Mujahideen know better that on more than one occasion domestic quarrels were initiated by persons of doubtful identity. We doubt about the religious beliefs of such persons, whether they may call themselves Shia or Sunni. Sometimes such persons are non-practicing Muslims and sometimes they are the agents of our enemies.

When Russians brought their forces here eight years

ago they were confident that they would be able to suppress the nation within a short time. But having failed to do so militarily, they have adopted the mean tactic of buying out persons with weak religious beliefs and using them as their agents to infiltrate various groups of the Mujahideen. They even executed this tactic on a wide-scale by utilizing the so-called "Father of the Homeland National Front". This faction, as is known to all, consists of Russian spies and Maoists who have sold themselves to the Russians despite basic differences between them, as well as smugglers, ex-deputies of Zahir Shah's parliament, pro-Western feudals and some other mean and evil persons who have accepted to work as Soviet agents for petty wages. Moreover, bogus ulama, more materialistic than any materialist and meaner than the above-named Russian mercenaries have also kept themselves at the disposal of the occupiers for worldly benefits. They are also members of the Father of the Homeland National Front. Some of these agents have infiltrated the Mujahideen ranks and carry out treacherous acts by clandestinely propagating false reports. They easily make use of ignorant and simple-minded persons for their evil designs. So, basically we have no problem as regards Shia-Sunni disunity.

Our basic problem is our encounter with the Russians and their evil designs and ruthless oppression of the nation of Afghanistan.

As regards U.S. involvement and the activities of China and other countries, it could be said that in this war, America was not inactive. The point would become clear if we make a profound study of our domestic differences and squabbles. When the U.S. gives a weapon or a dollar, it also gives, along with it, specific instructions. The U.S. agents are assigned to carry out its satanic plots. We can prove that several loyal elements in the Mujahideen factions were liquidated by American agents. America wants to change our revolution into an American one.

The whole story could be easily summarized in few words: the Afghan Mujahideen do not fight with each other. They fight with Russians or with those Afghans who have either sold themselves to the Russians or to

the Americans but have infiltrated our ranks by making themselves look like Muslim Mujahideen.

Mr. Ghareeq from Jamia-e-Islamic Afghanistan:

In the present situation, nothing could be considered more important than unity among the Afghan Mujahideen. That should be considered as the fundamental factor if we are determined to make our homeland free. It is true that our continued struggle against the foreign enemy has resulted in victories for us in different fields. The most significant one in the political field is that now Russia is looked down by the world as an oppressor. People of the world believe USSR to be in the same category as South Africa and Israel.

People of the world have become cognizant of the fact that Russians too make use of the same ruthless tactics that the Israelis of the Pretoria regime does. So, whenever or wherever there is talk of tyrannies carried out by the Zionists against Palestinians or the South African regime against the black majority in that country, people think of us, the Afghans, being tyrannized by the Russians in the same way. This is a major political defeat for the Russians as well as the Marxist doctrine. It was customary for all liberation movement in the world to consider Russia as their sympathizer and supporter.

But, the Islamic Revolution in Afghanistan has succeeded in tearing up the mask of hypocrisy worn by the Soviet for scores of years. They, the Soviets, are paying dearly after losing that mask. The events in Poland and at international level indicate the truth that the Soviets can no longer boast of possessing a mighty force — the Red Army. That army is miserably suffering in Afghanistan. Yes, the Red Army, which the Russians had on several occasions declared to be an army which cannot be defeated by any country is facing successive defeats in Afghanistan. Loss of prestige is a heavy loss for any superpower. The Islamic Revolution in Afghanistan has inflicted this fatal wound to the invading forces.

What the Russians had gained after their aggression of Eastern Europe in 1964,

and 1965 by occupying Hungary and Czechoslovakia which had made the world believe that no one can dare stand up against them, is undeniably lost. They have lost it in a small country. The same country which they had said, eight years ago during the start of the invasion, that they would pull out the Red Army from there after three or four months. They were confident that they would easily suppress the people in a short period of time and establish a puppet regime in Afghanistan.

So, the Afghan Mujahideen fought well and they have achieved all this because of their unity. They also know that the primary possession which the aggressor is endeavoring to snatch away from their hands is: 'unity'.

to be continued
in the next issue.

From "After They Defect" by David Shipler in the Sunday NYT Magazine 12/7/77:

"After having arrived in Afghanistan and having spent some time there, I realized that the war was not the way it was described to us back home. I realized it was an unjust war," said Nikolai Movchan. Now working at a Ukrainian publishing house in New York, Mr. Movchan spends his spare time collecting clothing and other goods to be sent to Afghan refugees in Pakistan. "The fact that Afghanistan has been in my life has left an imprint in what I want to do," he said.

A Ukrainian who was trained in woodworking and furniture-making, he was a sergeant in an antitank unit for seven months before he came to a decision, one night in June 1983, to desert. He gave no thought to coming to the United States, he said, but simply to getting out of the army.

"It happened one very early morning, when everybody was still asleep, and it

On Babrak's Ouster — an editorial
from THE TIMES OF INDIA 11/24/86

President Babrak Karmal's "request" to be relieved of all government and party responsibilities on "health grounds" and its "unanimous acceptance" by the revolutionary council of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) is an elaborate charade to camouflage the plain fact that he has well and truly been ousted from every seat of power and influence in the country. The ouster marks the culmination of the crises of confidence that steadily alienated him from the Soviet Union which had put him into power in December 1979. With Mr Gorbachov's arrival in the Kremlin he came to be regarded as an obstacle to the search for both a military as well as a political solution to the Afghan imbroglio. The first hard evidence that he had fallen out of favour came at the Congress of the Soviet Communist Party last March when leading Soviet personalities, including Mr Gorbachov himself, openly chided him for his efforts to apply the Marxist model in a country which was not yet "ripe" for it. Two months later he was replaced as general secretary of the PDPA by the chief of the secret police, Mr Najibullah. While he still retained the title of President and a seat on the Politburo, it was obvious that he had little or no say in the affairs of the country. Ironically, the erosion of his authority appears to have earned for him a measure of public sympathy. At a ceremony held in October in Kabul to mark the withdrawal of some Soviet troops, he was mobbed by a group of admiring young Afghan women much to the embarrassment of Mr Najibullah and to the utter panic of the security guards. In what appeared to be a show of defiance, Mr Karmal told foreign journalists present on the occasion that he was in good health and that he was still an active member of the leadership. The journalists remarked that during the ceremony he pointedly refused to throw flowers at the departing Soviet soldiers.

Be that as it may, Moscow has been pursuing its three-pronged strategy in Afghanistan: To enlarge the base of the regime by coopting non-PDPA elements both inside and outside the country into the decision-making process; to better train Afghan forces to defend the country and simultaneously withdraw its own troops in a phased manner; and finally, to pursue indirect talks with Pakistan under the auspices of the United Nations. On all three counts the Soviet Union appears to have registered modest but significant progress.

It is on the first count — the enlargement of the PDPA's power base — that the progress appears to be most striking. Since the beginning of the year 79 non-PDPA members have been inducted in the Revolutionary Council; four of the eleven members of the presidium are also non-party members; the government now includes 18 ministers or deputy ministers who have no links with the ruling party. Nor is this all. Of the 63 members of a commission set up to write a "national democratic" constitution as many as 40 are non-members. The ruling party has also received support from a Jirga of Afghan tribes. There are indications, too, that Moscow has been making discreet overtures to King Zahir Shah, now in exile in Rome, to persuade him to lead a degree of legitimacy to the regime in Kabul. Apparently Mr Karmal could not serve as an effective instrument of Moscow's new and more complex strategy in Afghanistan. Mr Najibullah, who is far more experienced in the art of seeking compromise and conciliation among rival Afghan tribes, clearly fits the bill better.

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Passage to Islamabad

By Ron Dorfman

Some Boston University professors and graduate students are scheduled to be in Pakistan this month teaching Afghan refugees media skills so they can better report the Soviet invasion of their country and the resistance to it; the more skillfully produced reports, it is hoped, will lead to increased awareness of the conflict, especially in the Third World.

The taking on of this project led to a nasty faculty wrangle and the resignation of the dean of BU's College of Communications. The reason can be discerned if one describes the project in harsher but still accurate terms: BU journalism professors, under contract to the U.S. government, are helping the Afghan resistance refine its propaganda to make it more salable in international media markets.

"Labeling is very important," observes Everett E. Dennis, director of the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University.

Bernice Buresh, a BU journalism professor and a former *Newsweek* correspondent and bureau chief, said the project sets a bad example for students. "The college contains three schools," she noted. "If the public-relations program in the School of Mass Communication and Public Relations wanted to apply for this grant and do this kind of work, it wouldn't compromise the college. But the people who are doing it say they're doing it as a journalistic project. And those of us who object say, 'It's propaganda, and you're jeopardizing our credibility.' It also sends a bad message to our students: One day you can do propaganda, and the next day you can do journalism. Some things you can't do even though they may be worthy things to do."

Jon N. Westling, the university's provost, said it's not true that the project involves propaganda. "The guidelines are public guidelines," he said. "They're very clear that the training component is simply that: to take a group of students, who have one great advantage that no Western journalist has, and provide those individuals with some basic skills in newswriting, photography, and so on to enable them to provide more information and more accurate information on what's going on inside Afghanistan."

"I find it ironic that some people refer

to this as media management, since there is a highly successful media-management operation by the Russian government, which has imposed a news blackout on the war in Afghanistan. . . . I would hope that this project will contribute something to the circumvention of that highly offensive but highly effective form of media management that the Soviet government has imposed."

The Afghan media project was inspired by an ad hoc bipartisan congressional committee on Afghanistan headed by Senator Gordon J. Humphrey, a New Hampshire Republican who recently told the Associated Press: "If we train freedom fighters in the use of cameras to bring out footage, that might help raise international public outrage. It's propaganda in the best sense of the word."

Last year, Congress voted a special appropriation of \$500,000 that the United States Information Agency was to use to pay a contractor to do the training and to help set up an independent Afghan news agency. But first John O. Koehler, the then-recently retired managing director of AP's World Services division, was engaged to do a feasibility study. Koehler said he reported to the congressional committee, the National Security Council, and the USIA.

The problem to be addressed was the paucity of news coming out of the Afghan battlefields. Because of official restrictions on the Soviet side and the difficult terrain and lack of communications on the resistance side, Western correspondents have been able to cover the war only sporadically. Afghans have greater access but lack reportorial skills. "There are practically no such animals as journalists among them, at least none that I could find," Koehler said.

The solution was to train some of the Afghan *mujaheddin* in "basic police observation techniques," he said. "They've had problems with things like vehicle identification and [exaggerating] the number of people involved in something, and they've hurt their credibility." On the basis of his experience at AP with training programs for Third World journalists, Koehler dismissed the possibility of bringing people out of the refugee camps to a "totally alien" environment for "training that would be totally irrelevant to their situation at

home."

Koehler said the objective was unpretentious: "It was basically to train them to be accurate, not to be great writers." At the same time, other young men would be trained as cameramen, "so they could get confirming pictures." They would produce a brief weekly roundup, perhaps 1,000 words, for worldwide distribution and would be available to brief and assist foreign correspondents.

On the basis of Koehler's report, the USIA published a request for proposals and received 23 of them, including a "concept paper" from Boston University's College of Communication. The paper was developed by a group of faculty members led by H. Joachim Maitre, professor of journalism and international relations, a military-affairs writer and senior editor of the Axel Springer publishing house in Germany. It was approved by Dean Bernard S. Redmont, a veteran of 40 years as a correspondent for major print and broadcast media in Europe, Latin America and the Soviet Union.

The paper called for a somewhat more ambitious training program that would take place on the Boston campus. BU was among five finalists selected by the USIA to submit formal proposals. But the agency specified that the training be done in the refugee center at Peshawar, about 25 miles across the Khyber Pass from Afghanistan. Dean Redmont decided that Peshawar represented a less than ideal academic environment and withdrew the college's approval for the project.

Maitre and Associate Dean Ronald S. Goldman, however, worked with Jon Westling, the provost, to draft a new proposal that circumvented Redmont administratively and was submitted to President John R. Silber. Silber, generally reputed to be an autocrat, split the difference on this one: He recommended that the university submit two proposals to the USIA — one for training in Boston, under College of Communication auspices; the other for training on-site, under general university auspices.

Ten senior members of the communication faculty, mostly from the school of journalism, signed a letter to Westling urging that the university make an effort to convince the USIA that it would be better for all concerned if the

project were based in Boston. Among other things, they said:

"... a program conducted in Peshawar could not be satisfactorily administered, would be open to infiltration and surveillance by agents of the KGB, the Iranian government, and other governments hostile to the United States, and would pose serious risks to the reputation of the university and the college. The gravest risk is that the program would be seen by the outside world and by the American academic community as not an educational enterprise at all but as a venture in propaganda and counterintelligence."

(One of the signers, William V. Shannon, a journalism professor, former member of the editorial board of *The New York Times* and former ambassador to Ireland, said recently that another consideration was the possibility of CIA involvement. The CIA finances and supplies the Afghan resistance. Shannon, who said he has "no problems" with the project in its current incarnation, said some faculty members "think that we should stay very far away from any dealings with intelligence agencies.")

Westling replied that, all things being equal, he, and President Silber as well, would prefer to have the program on campus but that it was clear that the USIA had another agenda. He argued that for Americans, Peshawar is probably safer than Boston; that BU has thousands of international students and operates a number of programs in Third World countries, all of which are inescapably vulnerable to the kind of manipulation and misrepresentation the letter writers feared; and that the writers were really advocating doing nothing, "[making] the best the enemy of the good."

There was something else at issue, too, Westling noted pointedly. He said he hoped the USIA would accept one or the other of BU's proposals because "the future of the College of Communication will depend, in no small measure, on a more successful effort than in the past to attract external support for educational, research and training activities that the college needs to enrich its academic program and advance its reputation." He concluded:

"I am grateful for your interest in this matter and trust that it signals an increased interest among the faculty of the College of Communication in grant and contract activity."

A few weeks later, Redmont fired Associate Dean Goldman, apparently for insubordination. (Goldman holds no academic appointment.)

All of that was last fall. In the spring, the USIA notified President Silber that BU's proposal for on-site training had been accepted but that the part of the program that dealt with setting up an Afghan news agency would be assigned to King Features/Hearst Metrotone News. BU would get \$180,364; Hearst would get \$309,636.

On March 26, two weeks after a stormy meeting of the College of Communication faculty, David Klatell, director of the school of journalism, announced he was resigning as director immediately, rather than at the end of the school year as scheduled. Klatell has had long-term health problems and explained that "recently the stress and strain of performing my duties have greatly affected my health."

And on July 7, Dean Redmont resigned, "for reasons with which you [President Silber] are familiar." (He got a consolation fall-semester sabbatical in London as adviser to the college's internship program, then returns to the teaching faculty.) Redmont's resignation was played big in *The Boston Globe*, and the story was picked up around the country.

A month later, Silber appointed Joachim Maitre interim dean, and Maitre promptly restored Ronald Goldman as associate dean.

Maitre, asked whether the rather small sum involved (BU has upward of \$70 million in grants and contracts) was worth all the academic bloodshed, said: "At first glance, the answer would be, 'Obviously, it's not worth it.' But I don't really see the bloodletting. Nobody's lost a job. And we have achieved national fame, or infamy."

As it turns out, the Afghan media project will not take place in Peshawar. The government of Pakistan — for reasons which its embassy in Washington could not or would not explain to *THE QUILL* but which a BU dean said had to do with the delicacy of its relations with Afghanistan and the Soviet Union — was not enthusiastic about the project. At one point, there was speculation that the project might have to be removed to BU's outpost campus in Germany. But by September, the parties

had agreed to a headquarters in Islamabad, 100 miles east of Peshawar. There, at least, a communications infrastructure was already in place.

Maitre said there would be 20 trainees in the first of two six-week sessions, many of whom had been abroad for periods of a year or more learning TV camera

technique in Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Holland. Some, he said, had worked professionally in Kabul before joining the resistance, but "their view of presenting a video is old-fashioned — they tend to do 30- to 45-minute documentary-style pieces. The quick, news-style three- to five-minute piece is virtually unknown."

Trainees will be coached in balancing their reports to appeal to foreign editors and audiences. "Nobody wants to see 150 Afghans sitting on top of a captured Soviet tank," Maitre said he told the *mujaheddin* leaders. "We've seen that too often. But: How are children schooled in the unoccupied parts of Afghanistan? That's the sort of story they should be doing." No more than 20 percent of the product should be combat reporting, Maitre said.

Maitre may have a tough time convincing them of that. David Klein of Impact Features in San Francisco, whose stories from Afghanistan have appeared on network news shows, said that the USIA's project was "doomed to failure." Klein taught his Afghan friends to use video cameras and tried to teach them to do credible journalism. But, he said, "you run up against the tremendously ideological approach of the Afghans; they just don't understand the notion of 'wars and all' — the idea that if you show their society as it really is, people will be more sympathetic."

The primary target market for the Afghan reports is the Third World, though Charles Shurt, general manager of Hearst Metrotone News, said he hopes to get the European Broadcasting Union to subscribe and distribute the file to its affiliates, which would help pay for satellite distribution. Maitre said the Arab countries also have indicated some interest. Uplink costs out of Pakistan run \$2,000 for 10 minutes, Shurt said.

Interestingly, any USIA subsidy would make distribution of the Afghan reports in the United States illegal under the Smith-Mundt Act, which prohibits domestic dissemination of USIA materials. The mere fact that the project is being organized on behalf of the USIA arguably makes the reports *verboten* in the United States no matter who is paying for production and distribution, according to a knowledgeable congressional source. ☐

Ron Dorfman, former editor of *The Quill*, is a free-lance writer and media critic.

U.S. college teaches Afghans methods of reporting on war

By Ron Zollman

Although one million Afghans have been killed and another 4.5 million have taken refuge in neighboring countries since the Soviet invasion of their country in December of 1979, their struggle has received almost no news coverage in recent years. (Statistics are taken from the *Near East Report*, Nov. 10, 1986).

The Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan has warned the press to "stop trying to penetrate Afghanistan." Soviet troops are under orders to shoot foreign journalists and have done so on three occasions, including Sept. 19, 1985 when American Charles Thornton was killed (*Insight*, Nov. 24, 1986). As a result of this barrier, scant coverage — as little as 3.2 minutes on NBC in all of 1983 — has been given to Afghanistan.

Now, however, Congress is giving \$500,000 to Boston University and Hearst Metrocenter News, a news syndicate, to train native Afghans in reporting methods. This will enable the Afghans to get news of the war out themselves. H. Joachim Maitre, dean of the College of Communications at Boston University, is directing this American effort. In the following interview, he discusses details and controversies surrounding this program.

Q: First of all, perhaps you could outline what the program involves?

A: It's very simple. We are training young Afghans in journalistic techniques, methods of print journalism, still photography, and video in the same way we would train the Americans over here. In other words, we are applying technique as it is known in North America. Nothing else is involved. The only difference would be time, because ours is a crash course.

Q: Why did the government select Boston University to run this program?

A: We won a competition. USA (United States Information Agency) was asked by the Senate to administer the program and to organize a competition. We won that one.

Q: Could you explain how you'll get the Afghan rebels to teach them?

A: They have their organizations on the ground in Peshawar, Pakistan. There are quite a few thousand of them, tens of thousands of Afghans, and we, of course, establish contacts right there in Pakistan.

Q: So you're not involved at all in getting anyone out of Afghanistan?

A: Oh no, not at all. Our program does not involve any of that. But we are fairly well organized anyway. But they need us here.

Q: What, specifically, do you hope will be achieved by teaching the Afghans to photograph what is taking place? Do you hope that there will be further foreign intervention?

A: No, but the main point behind it is, ever since the Soviet Ambassador (Vitaly Smirnov) issued death threats to journalists, Western journalists have not gone in. Very few do. In other words, the news flow from inside Afghanistan is drying up. Afghans do not have much fear. They are inside and work very regularly. In other words, we just have the preoccupation that the situation in Afghanistan has got to be brought to the attention of the world — not just America. Our focus is really to train them to bring out news for consumption in Western Europe, in Third World countries, and in South America.

Q: Is there any specific action that you hope will result from this program and the anticipated increase in media coverage?

A: Well, at least we wanted attention — right now, it (Afghanistan's current situation) is not talked about.

Q: What can Western viewers expect to see when the photographs and stories start coming out?

A: I have no idea. But maybe when the news comes out, there will be a willingness to look at the situation more carefully.

Q: Now, I understand that there was a dispute at the university about whether an academic institution should get involved with a political event. In fact, *Insight* reported that one administrator even resigned over the dispute. Could you comment on this?

A: That report is not correct at all. The man who did allegedly resign did not resign over that issue. He is still with us. He is no longer Dean of the College (of Communication). But it was over an issue which had nothing to do with Afghanistan.

Q: Has there been any resistance among the faculty to the program?

A: Originally, yes, because one part of the college wanted to train them here, in Boston, not in Pakistan. But the situation has been resolved now.

Q: They wanted to train the Afghans at Boston University?

A: That's correct, in Boston. In other words, fly everyone here, do the training here, and fly them back.

Q: Does the program take private support also, or is it strictly government funded?

A: Oh, yes we have received a few donations. Yes, indeed.

Q: Do you interpret this venture as an academic program?

A: No, it's strictly a professional program, which I would do anywhere. I would do it in Moscow, if the Soviet government would ask me to train

Soviet journalists. I'd be glad to do it, but the trouble is that they won't ask me. Do you understand? I think our style of teaching journalism is universal; we can do it anywhere. Now, I would be reluctant to send people into a dangerous situation. We have some teachers here who have done some teaching in the Third World, in particular in South Africa, teaching black South Africans.

Q: But, it doesn't politicize the university for departments to be involved so?

A: Absolutely not. I don't think this means we lean one way or the other.

Q: So, where does the program go from here?

A: The program is starting, in Pakistan. The entire program will last for a maximum of about one year. We hope to train roughly 60 people.

Q: Do you hope to expand the program after that?

A: If we have the money. But right now we do not have the money. If, at the end of that year, we cannot continue, we will have done our job and we will not be anything less than satisfied.

ucia daily bruin

november 26, 1986

ONE MAN CRUSADE HK Evening Standard 10/20

WHEN John Ashrafzai was studying business management in Cologne in the 1960s, he used to go on the streets of the cities of West Germany to shout for justice.

Along with an entire idealistic and indignant generation, he waved banners and demanded the Americans get out of Vietnam.

Today, Dr Ashrafzai looks at the bloody agony of his homeland and asks himself where now are the angry young men and women who want to see right and justice prevail in the world. Where are the angry young men of the '80s?

"Doesn't anyone care about Afghanistan?" He demands. "People are being killed, unarmed women and children are being bombed and murdered."

"And where are the idealists of Europe? Why aren't they protesting? Why are the streets empty?"

He speaks with the anguished tones of a frustrated humanitarian as he brandishes a bulky United Nations document which lists with deadly impartiality details of systematic slaughter, massacre, redistribution and execution as Soviet and Afghan troops try to cow a stubborn people.

Despite the viciousness of the war, no matter the odds against the guerrillas of the Afghan mountains, although the world refuses to supply the freedom fighters with modern weapons to combat the hellish Russian helicopter gunships, Dr Ashrafzai believes the end is certain.

Sooner or later the Russians will find some face-saving solution, pack up their tanks and mortars and artillery and head home.

Then the 4.5 million Afghan refugees packed into miserable camps in Pakistan and Iran will head back across the borders to their stark but beautiful homeland.

And wealthy and middle-class exiles like Dr Ashrafzai will also be able to go home. For him, it will be a journey he has long wanted to make.

He was last in Afghanistan in March last year, sneaked over the Pakistan border by a band of guerrillas. Conditions were appalling, he says, both in the remote refugee camps in Pakistan too far from the roads for journalists to



Dr John Ashrafzai...asking a very pertinent question.

walk and inside Afghanistan itself. "Why isn't the world demanding justice?" he repeats.

He is along with the Afghan exiles scattered all over the western world. There are about 20,000 of them in America, the biggest community by far, and they try to speak loudly to the conscience of the world through the "Afghanistan Voice."

"We don't want weapons or finance," he says. "We just want people to speak out against injustice. . . ."

"Why are people always ready to protest about the United States and will never protest about the Soviet Union?"

Dr Ashrafzai does not intend to pick up a gun and return with the guerrillas. There are enough fighters. His aim is to spread the message as far as he can in his world-wide trips as a New York-based businessman and owner of a small import-export company which buys leather goods and other items in Hongkong.

"We are all very disappointed in Europe," he said mournfully over a beer. "Nobody cares."

He is even more bitter about some Islamic countries — Libya, Syria, South Yemen — that support the Soviet's puppet regime.

He is scornful of India's attitude, disappointed with the youth of America and heartbroken that his countrymen dying in the hills cannot obtain modern weapons to make the fight more equal against the might of the Red Army.

Would it be right to describe the conflict as the forgotten war. I asked?

"It is not forgotten by us, not by the Afghans."

The Continuing Soviet War in Afghanistan

Of the nations bordering the Soviet Union today, all but Afghanistan had a Communist party within six years of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Before 1948, the Soviet Union invaded or attempted to invade Afghanistan four times; but Great Britain effectively frustrated these attempts. After 1953, Soviet leaders developed a strategy for the political penetration of Afghanistan.

In 1953, after Mohammed Daoud became Prime Minister, the Marxists penetrated his government. Thereafter Soviet leaders substantially strengthened the power of Daoud's central government vis-à-vis the traditional sector and aligned themselves with "the educated elite." Daoud was forced to resign in 1963, because King Zahir Shah wanted to democratize the system, move away from the Soviet Union, and normalize relations with Pakistan. Between 1963 and 1973, some 26 private newspapers appeared, and several unofficial political parties emerged. The People's Democratic party of Afghanistan (PDPA) was established on January 1, 1965, by a conclave of 27 men gathered at the modest home of a writer and poet, Nur Mohammed Taraki. During that same decade, while Afghanistan moved toward a constitutional monarchy and a democratic form of government, the Marxists were not able to gain more than two percent of the seats in the Assembly (shura).

But the Afghan desire for modernization and economic development led Afghanistan to accept Soviet influence as early as 1953. The monarchy and the educated elite were lured by the Soviet Union through substantial long-term financing of successive five year plans beginning in 1956. The Soviet objectives were to shift Afghanistan's trade to the Soviet-bloc countries, to increase the relative share of the Afghan public sector, to create public monopolies, and to superimpose a modern sector on the traditional economic sector. Beginning in 1953, Soviet aid was massive. Afghanistan received the highest per capita aid of any third world nation. From 1953 to 1978, before the establishment of a Marxist government, Afghanistan received more than \$3 billion in Soviet aid, including some 120 projects.⁵

Most Soviet programs were designed to serve Soviet long-term political and military objectives. Afghan roads and airports were designed for future Soviet military use. In fact, the silos and hospitals built by the Soviet Union in the 1950's and 1960's were used in the 1980's by the Soviet military in Kabul. Natural gas, minerals, fruits and other resources were exported to the Soviet Union at prices substantially below international prices.

The Soviet penetration of the Afghan economy and Soviet efforts to preempt Western competition included a favorable exchange rate and program aid rather than

project aid. (Under program aid, large budgets were approved for financing several projects without the necessity of justifying each project.) Other Soviet tactics included free transit through Soviet territory, visible and popular programs, underbidding on projects, low interest rates, liberal rescheduling of loans, a substantial grace period, Soviet technicians to complete the programs, provisions for generous scholarships, training programs, and specific job-related technical training for Afghans in the Soviet Union.⁶ Trade with the Soviet Union went from 7 percent in 1921 to over 70 percent in 1985. In general, the Soviet Union succeeded in penetrating the Afghan economy and created a dual economy that weakened the traditional sector, where more than 90 percent of the population lived and worked.

The Soviet Union also attempted to dominate Afghanistan by means of military aid. Military aid began in 1956 (\$32 million), and by 1963 it had reached \$100 million. The Soviet Union recruited disgruntled Afghan junior officers. By the time of the first Soviet-aided and sponsored military coup in 1973, more than 7,000 Afghan officers had been trained in the Soviet Union.⁷ The Afghan military set up former Prime Minister Daoud as a figurehead and then overthrew him in 1978 to set up a Marxist government controlled by the Soviet military. After the 1978 coup, more than 4,000 non-Marxist military officers were purged. . .

⁵Patrick J. Garrity, "The Soviet Penetration of Afghanistan," Occasional Paper no. 4 (Claremont, Calif.: The Claremont Institute, 1982); Nake M. Kamrany, "The First Five Year Plan of Afghanistan," *The American Economist*, vol. 8, no. 4 (1964); M. S. Noorzooy, "Long-Term Economic Relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 17 (1985).

⁶Nake M. Kamrany, "Soviet Economic Aid Strategy in Underdeveloped Countries," *Communist Affairs*, vol. 11, no. 3 (1963). See also Nake Kamrany and Leon Poulada, *Peaceful Competition in Afghanistan* (Santa Monica: Fundamental Books, 1986).

⁷See A. Rasul Amin, "The Sour Revolution?" *WUFA*, vol. 1, no. 2 (January/March, 1986). At least 80 percent of the 1973 coup leaders took part in the 1978 coup.

Part of an article by Nake Kamrany, Prof. of Economics, University of Southern California, which appeared in the October issue of CURRENT HISTORY.

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AN UPDATE ON THE KIRGHIZ

This report is based on 2 months (July-September 1986) of field research among the Afghan Kirghiz refugees who are living in 2 temporary camps in the village of Karagunduz, Van & in the Afatevleri district at the edge of the city of Malatya, in Eastern Turkey. A preliminary analysis of the research data points to the following trends in the adaptation efforts of the Kirghiz in Turkey:

First, a significant rise in the birth rate, & a much lower rate of infant mortality has resulted in a very rapid rate of population increase. On arriving in Turkey the Kirghiz numbered 1,129 in 287 oey (family/households). There are now 301 oey units & 1,348 people in the community - an increase of about 19.4% over the last 4 years. The magnitude of the population increase, due to the higher infant survival rate in Turkey, becomes even more apparent when one compares the number of surviving children born in Turkey with the numbers of children born during the 4 years of Kirghiz refugee life in Pakistan & the last 4 years of their life in the Pamir valleys of Afghanistan before the 1978 coup. The number of children between the ages of 0-4 (born in Turkey) is 277, or 20.5% of the current population, while those between ages 5-8 (born in Pakistan) is 156, or 11.5%, & ages 9-12 (born in Afghanistan) is 107, or only 7.9% of the population. The village nurse in Karagunduz reported that only 5 infants died in the village during the last 4 years. This figure, which amounts to about 2% of the live births over 4 years, is in sharp contrast to the infant death rate of 30% during the 1st year after birth in the Pamirs of Afghanistan.

Second, more than 280 Kirghiz children and some young adults, both boys & girls, are in schools. Among them is a group of 8 students who, having started school in Pakistan, entered a boarding high school this fall in the city of Van. Close to 30 Kirghiz youth of military age have been drafted & are currently serving in the Turkish armed forces. In addition, most of the adult males, and some females, between the ages of 20 & 50 have completed adult literacy courses & many of them are able to read modern Turkish, however haltingly. These developments are likely to have significant consequences on the structure of social, economic & political relations among the Kirghiz.

Third, the fact that all Kirghiz households, with the exception of the Kirghiz Khan & his sister who are considered wealthy, receive the same monthly cash allowances & other benefits has created a new sense of economic equality within the community & a general sense of "freedom" from dependence on the wealthier members of the community, which was so characteristic of the highly stratified Kirghiz society in Afghanistan. While the assistance given to them by the UNHCR, Turkish gov't & a few private organizations meets the basic needs of most families, many Kirghiz households have begun, some very successfully, to take advantage of other economic opportunities in Turkey. For example, 70 households have bought sheep & goats from neighboring Turkish villagers & together own some 700 animals. About 30 households have cows & some of them are selling milk products within the community. Several men are working as shepherds in distant Turkish villages to earn extra cash. In both Kirghiz communities several families have opened small shops selling general goods, much of which is sold on credit. In Malatya, almost 90% of the families with adult males have members who work as porters, construction or farm workers in or around the city. Over 50% of the households in Karagunduz have sent at least one adult male member to work for several months each year in Malatya & other cities as far away as Izmir, Istanbul, Riza & Adana to supplement their meager monthly allowance of 6,000 TL per day & 3,000 TL per child under 8 (\$1 = ca. 675 TL). In Karagunduz, women have contributed to the family income by making traditional woven & felt items; some are bought by foreign tourists but most are purchased by the Van & Environs Development Foundation, a private charitable organization, for sale in their Kirghiz shop in Van. Differences in the availability of workers,

as well as household strategies for making use of economic opportunities, are beginning to result in a new structure of economic differentiations among the Kirghiz, which will undoubtedly affect the long term socio-economic arrangements within the community.

Fourth, the critical significance of the role of the Kirghiz Khan, Haji Rahman Qul Kutlu (a family name meaning "auspicious, lucky & happy," assigned by Turkish officials when the Kirghiz arrived in Turkey) in managing Kirghiz relations with the outside forces, including Turkish state authorities, appears to have remained unchanged. However, important changes in the economic basis of his personal power due to changes in the political economy of the community have to some degree affected the nature of his leadership in the management of social relations within the community.

Finally, the construction of about 220 housing units, utilities & public buildings (school, mosque, etc.) in Altindere, the site of the permanent Kirghiz village about 15km west of the city of Ercis in Van, is complete, while another 100 units are near completion. Turkish authorities were planning to move those living in Karagunduz to Altindere on 10/25/86. However, there were some doubts about the move & it may be postponed until the spring of 1987. The Kirghiz in Malatya will be moved on completion of the remaining housing units in the fall of 1987. When they move to Altindere, each Kirghiz household will be given an identical house, an equal number of animals & access to some 35,000 acres of prime pasture lands to start a new herding economy. They will not receive any further cash allowances. It is their long term adaptation to these new conditions which I hope to be able to study at various intervals during the decades to come.

Nazif Shahrani
Dept. of Anthropology, UCLA
Los Angeles

From BACKGROUND NOTES - AFGHANISTAN
US Dept. of State, Bureau of Public
Affairs, July 1986:

Travel Notes

Travel advisory: The US Department of State recommends against all travel to Afghanistan.

Climate and clothing: Kabul's climate is similar to Denver's, but drier and dustier. Winter lasts from December through February; summer, mid-May to mid-September. Because of cultural sensitivities, dress conservatively.

Customs: Entry and exit visas are required and are difficult to obtain, and visitors generally are not allowed to leave Kabul. Visas are sometimes issued for all modes of entry (land or air), sometimes for a single mode of entry. Immunization requirements change; check latest information.

Health: No health controls or sanitation regulations govern the safety of foods in markets and restaurants. Travelers and foreign residents are advised to boil drinking water, cook fruits, vegetables, and meats thoroughly, and not to consume local dairy products.

Transportation: Bakhtar, Aeroflot, and Indian Airlines provide international flights to and from Kabul. Taxis are available in Kabul; buses are often overcrowded and uncomfortable.

Telecommunications: International telephone calls may be placed, but they must be booked, often weeks in advance, and paid for in the Central Telephone Office. Kabul is 9½ hours ahead of eastern standard time. Commercial cables from the US may take 2-3 days to arrive.

Principal U.S. Officials

Charge d'Affaires—James M. Ealum
Deputy Chief of Mission—Ed McWilliams
Administrative Officer—Edward T. Paukert

The U.S. Embassy in Afghanistan is located on Ansari Wat in the District of Wazir Akbarkhan Mena, Kabul (tel. 24231 through 24239). ■

AUSTRALIAN BROADCAST

At 2 p.m. on the second Saturday of every month there is a ½ hour Afghan radio program in Sydney, NSW on 2 EA 1600M.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"Afghan Refugees, Still Far from Home" by Fergus M. Bordewich in *READER'S DIGEST*, November 1986.

"The Continuing Soviet War in Afghanistan" by Nake M. Kamrany in the October *CURRENT HISTORY* (see p. 26)

"The Iranian Revolution & the Afghan Resistance" is the title of Zalmay Khalilzad's chapter in *SHI'ISM, RESISTANCE & REVOLUTION*, edited by Martin Kramer, Westview Press, Boulder, January 1987. ca. 350 pp. \$39.95. ISBN 0-8133-0453-9.

AFGHANISTAN: POLITICS, ECONOMICS & SOCIETY by Bhabani Sen Gupta, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 948 North St., Boulder, CO 80302. [Erroneously listed in the last *FORUM* as a chapter in a book - sorry, Ed.] 206 pp. \$26.50 cloth; \$11.95 paper.

ISLAM & RESISTANCE IN AFGHANISTAN, the English translation of Olivier Roy's "L'Afghanistan: Islam et Modernite Politique," is available from Cambridge University Press, 32 East 57th Street, New York, NY, 10022.

UNDER A SICKLE MOON by Peregrine Hodson describes his 1984 500-mile journey through Afghanistan. It will be published in Britain by Century Hutchinson.

RED DEATH by Ayesha Tarzi tells of the author's escape from Afghanistan. It is published by the Islamic Texts Society & is available from them at 66 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London WC2A 3LH, England. \$2.80.

PLAIN TALES OF THE AFGHAN BORDER.

10 stories about the Pathans, by John Bowen is available from Medialink Int'l, Inc., 191 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn, NY 11201 for \$9.95. The 95-page book was published in 1982.



AN AFGHANISTAN HANDBOOK, edited by Rosanne Klass, will be available from Freedom House, 48 East 21st Street, New York, NY 10010 in early 1987. The 200-page handbook will contain essays by Alexandre Bennigsen, Frederik Barth, Elie Krakowski, Barnett Rubin, A. Rasul Amin, Zia Noorzoy, Abdul Rashid, Leon Poullada, Yossef Bodansky, Abdul Tawab Assefy & Rosanne Klass. It will also have maps & other research aids. It is designed for use by journalists, policy makers & college students as well as the concerned general public. Notify the Afghanistan Information Center at Freedom House if you want an order form for the book.

Articles on Afghanistan in *CENTRAL ASIAN SURVEY*, Vol. 5, #6, 1986, include "A Soviet Estonian Soldier in Afghanistan," introduced by Peter Philips, & "Int'l Humanitarian Enquiry Commission on Displaced Persons in Afghanistan" by Michael Barry, Johan Lagerfelt & Marie-Odile Terrenoire.

THE STATE, PRELIGION, & ETHNIC POLITICS Afghanistan, Iran & Pakistan, edited by Ali Banuazizi & Myron Weiner, has the following chapters on Afghanistan:

"State Building and Social Fragmentation in Afghanistan: A Historical Perspective," M. Nazif Shahrani, UCLA

"The Prospects for State Building in Afghanistan," Richard S. Newell, University of Northern Iowa

"The Changing Role Of Islam as a Unifying Force in Afghanistan," Eden Naby, Harvard University

The book is available from Syracuse University Press, 1600 Jamesville Ave., Syracuse, NY 13244-5160. 464 pp. \$35.00

From E.J. Brill, Postbus 9000, 2300 PA Leiden, Netherlands:

Kamali, M. H. Law in Afghanistan. A study of the constitutions, matrimonial law and the judiciary. 1985. (ix, 265 p.) (SEPSME, 36)

ISBN 90 04 07128 8

Gld. 84.—

The state of contemporary law in Afghanistan can be understood only in the context of Afghan history and culture. This book, while essentially a study of matrimonial law in Afghanistan, contains long sections on the constitutions and the judiciary, which may serve as comprehensive introductions to these subjects. The section on matrimonial law concentrates on problems of excessive expenditures in marriage ceremonies, of child marriage, of polygamy and of divorce. The section on the constitutions elucidates the influence of the Shari'a and, recently, of Marxist doctrine. The changing structure of the judiciary is dealt with in the third section. All this is put against the background of Afghan history and culture.

THE SITUATION IN DARWAZ

from AFGHAN NEWS, Vol. II, #22, 11/15.

Darwaz is a district of Badakhshan Province along the Soviet border. An Afghan News reporter talked to Abdul Karim, a young mujahid from Darwaz:

"It takes one month to come from Darwaz to Pakistan. The route is difficult & one has to climb more than 8 passes, each about 16,000 feet high. Darwaz is eight days walk from Faizabad, the provincial capital of Badakhshan. There is no road passable by car from Faizabad to Darwaz.

The mujahideen of Darwaz are organized in 4 base areas: Koof, Sheki, Shoryan & Mymay. The chief commander is Ameer Moh'd Fedaii. All the mujahideen of Darwaz are members of Jamiat...

The mujahideen have a civilian organization besides the military one in the area. They have financial, military, cultural & judicial committees... Shariat law is applied in the area & mujahideen collect taxes to meet their needs.

The medical situation in the area is bad. There is no doctor. There are only 2 paramedics who have studied short term courses in Peshawar... Mujahideen do not have any publications but they are running 10 schools. The teachers are chosen from among the educated people & the religious scholars. The food situation is very serious. The area is very mountainous & does not have a lot of land which could be cultivated. The available land does not yield enough because of the absence of good seed & the lack of enough cattle. The Soviets burn the crops... People bring food from the Ragh area which takes 8 days... To buy food the people need cash... In one village last year the Soviets killed 60 cows, 30 donkeys & a larger number of sheep & goats.... Shortages of weapons & ammunition are always a problem.

Darwaz is located on the Amu River... Soviet Tajikistan is so close that Afghan villagers can see men standing in the Soviet village. In all military

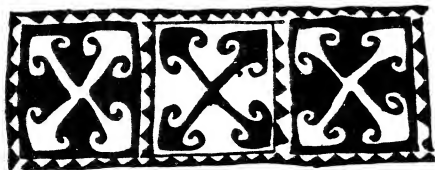
operations the Soviets bring their troops from the other side of the river. They have established posts...opposite each Afghan village. They have stationed tanks & other heavy weapons in these posts. When they want they pound Afghan villages from these posts.... The Soviets are being helped by about 700 militiamen from Darwaz. These people are affiliated with a communist party called Setam-i-Milli (National Depression Party), a faction of the Khalq party which separated from it some years back. No Khalqi or Parchami is present in the area.

Mujahideen have been very active (considering their limited resources) in the area. Some times they have carried out cross border operations. Last year Samiullah, a local commander, crossed the river at night & attacked a Soviet post, killed some soldiers & returned safely. Mujahideen have also mined some roads inside the Soviet Union which have destroyed some vehicles. A big explosion took place at Qala-i-Khan air base in the USSR. Ammunition dumps burned for a week & a number of helicopters & Antonov planes were destroyed. Mujahideen of the area claim responsibility for this action....

The Soviets are using pressure anti-personnel mines in Darwaz. These are plastic mines which can not be detected by metal detectors.

The Soviets try to terrorize the civilian population of the area to stop them from helping the mujahideen. One day they killed 8 people with axes in broad daylight...

Despite all the difficulties & enemy pressure, the morale of the mujahideen is high & they believe in their final victory. They are united & relatively organized. They badly need weapons, ammunition & cash to buy their needs & the needs of the people in the area."



RECENT PUBLICATIONS

JIHAD NEWS is published twice a month by the Cultural Committee of Hezb-e-Islami Afghanistan, P.O. Box 454-466, Peshawar, Pakistan. Each issue contains quotations from the Quran & a chronology of Hezb-e-Islami mujahideen actions.

AL FALAH/ DELIVERANCE, the bi-monthly journal of Afghan mujahideen in Australia, has a new format. Instead of the newspaper size of the 1st 6 issues, volume 2 is magazine-sized. 10 pages are in English, 10 in Dari. A years' subscription is \$15 from Al-Falah, GPO Box 3098, Sydney, N.S.W. 2001, Australia.

FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE by Moh'd Es'Haq, published by the Political Office of Jami'at Islami Afghanistan (P.O. Box 264, Peshawar, Pakistan), is a 14-page pamphlet describing Commander Massoud's organization of some of the northern areas in Afghanistan & the results of his work.

AFRANE, 8 rue Christine, 75006 Paris, has prepared AFGHANISTAN - IMAGES D'UNE RESISTANCE, a 48-page album of cartoons, 16 in color. Ff 60.

AFGHANISTAN, LÄNDERMONOGRAPHIE, edited by Paul Bucherer & Christoph Jentsch, Bibliotheca Afghanistanica, Liestal, Switzerland, A handbook, in German, covering all aspects of Afghanistan, ancient & modern.

"Six Years of the 4th Afghan War, The Strategic Wakhan" in STRATEGIC STUDIES, Vol. IX, #2, winter 1986. (The Quarterly Journal of the Institute of Strategic Studies, P.O. Box 1173, Islamabad, Pakistan.)

HERRSCHAFT, RAUB UND GEGENSEITIGKEIT: DIE POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE BADAKHSHANS 1500-1883 by Jan-Heeren Greve-meyer, Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1982. There is a summary in English. 254 pp. Paper.

From the same author early in 1987: AFGHANISTAN: GESCHICHTE UND GESELLSCHAFT IN 20. JH, Express Verlag, Berlin. This also will have an English summary.

CHRONOLOGY OF AFGHANISTAN EVENTS, Vol. 1 - 1978-1984 by Dr. S.M. Yusuf Elmi, published by the Afghan Jihad Works Translation Centre, P.O. Box 417, Peshawar, Pakistan. In Pashto & Dari.

AFGHANISTAN: TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS, Amnesty Int'l. 5 Roberts Place, London EC1R 0EJ, Great Britain. £2.50 (See p. 15.)

Contributors of \$20 or more to the California Committee for a Free Afghanistan, One City Center, 770 L Street, Suite 1440, Sacramento, CA 95814 (916-443-0422) will receive a subscription to AFGHANISTAN PERSPECTIVE, a monthly tabloid-size newsletter. The August issue, Vol. II, #4, had 14 pages. The editorial office address is P.O. Box 15068, Suite 428, San Francisco, CA 94115 (415-552-1201 in the evenings).

"Report on Afghanistan" by Jonathan Brent in FORMATIONS, Vol 3, #2, Fall, 1986, pp. 119-123: followed by b & w photographs taken by Bohumil Krčil of Herat in 1978.

AFGHAN MUJAHIDEEN MEDICAL JOURNAL is a quarterly issued from P.O. Box 105, Strawberry Hills, NSW 2012, Australia. It carries articles on health problems of the mujahideen & the refugees.

"Chessboard of History" by Merlinda Fournier in THE WORLD & I, October 1986.

WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN (in English & German) by Fahima Rahimi, 1977, with a 1985 update by Nancy Dupree, Stiftung Bibliotheca Afghanistanica, Liestal, 1986. 112 pp., illus.

RUSSIA'S WAR IN AFGHANISTAN by David Isby, with color plates by Ron Volstad, is #178 in the Osprey Men-At-Arms Series, Osprey Publishing Ltd., 12-14 Long Acre, London WC2E 9LP, Gt. Britain. 1986. 48 pp., \$7.95. ISBN 0-85045-691-6.

TO WIN THE CHILDREN: AFGHANISTAN'S OTHER WAR by Jeri Laber, Helsinki Watch/Asia Watch, 36 West 44th Street, New York, NY 10036. 24 pp, illust. \$10. Human Rights violations against children in Afghanistan.

AFGHANISTAN: SEVEN YEARS OF SOVIET OCCUPATION, State Dept. Special Report #155, prepared by Craig Karp for the US Dept of State, Bureau of Public Affairs, Washington, DC 20520, December 1986.

BOOK REVIEWS

AFGHAN ALTERNATIVES: ISSUES, OPTIONS, AND POLICIES, edited by Ralph Magnus, Transaction Books, New Brunswick & Oxford, 1985. 221 pp.

The editor of the Afghanistan Forum apparently had a difficult time finding someone to review this book, as most of the potential reviewers are contributors. The volume originated from the International Conference on Afghan Alternatives sponsored by USIA and two other foundations in November 1983 in Monterey, California. It consists of 7 papers on various aspects of the Afghan conflict followed by discussion by conference participants. The major topics were Soviet aims and policies (Jiri Valenta), the Afghan Resistance (Eden Naby), international responses (Marvin Weinbaum), US policy and interests (Harmon Kirby, Thomas Gouttierre), and possible futures, solutions and otherwise (Noor Hussein). Among the luminaries gathered to discuss these matters were Sayed Qassem Reshtia, Sayed Bahaiddin Majrooh, Robert Neumann, Selig Harrison, Sabahuddin Kushkaki, Claude Malhuret, Peers Carter, and, needless to say, Louis Dupree. I daresay that none of these people needs to be identified to the readers of Afghanistan Forum.

As usual in books based on conferences, the contributions are uneven; the discussion is not very organized and tends to the superficial, although with some brilliant arias, and by the time the book becomes available it is somewhat out of date. Overtaking events such as the unity of the Peshawar parties, the accession of Gorbachev, the end of martial law in Pakistan, and the apparent if thus far inconclusive advance of the Geneva negotiations limits the value of the book as a guide to current Afghan affairs. The discussion of US policy seems particularly disappointing in light of the inability of the participants to agree on what the policy is or whether it exists at all. Many of the relevant facts are classified and there does not seem to be agreement on what they are even among people with access to them.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to read Valenta on Soviet policy, Naby on the Afghan resistance, or Hussain on possible futures. Much of this material, however, can be found elsewhere, and what I found particularly interesting were parts of the recorded discussion. Although much of it, despite editing, remains rather incoherent, it all too perfectly, and therefore valuably, records the non-meeting of the minds on a number of heart-breaking topics.

For instance, Claude Malhuret, then of Médecins sans Frontières, now French Minister of State for Human Rights, at one point cannot contain his disturbance at statements by Sajjad Hyder (former Pakistani ambassador to Moscow) and Selig Harrison, among others. He eloquently denounces the atrocities committed by the Soviets and those who advocate negotiated compromise with those who commit them. No one else at the conference confronts the moral tragedy of Afghanistan as openly; yet Malhuret also does not come forward with the practical alternative - a strategy for a solution - that statesmen are looking for, nor did he at all address the political and economic dilemmas the Afghan conflict poses for Pakistan.

Sajjad Hyder is the true spoiler: he echoes the increasingly common Pakistani opposition to support for the mujahideen, describing the various hardships it is causing the people of Pakistan, both economically & politically. He alone at the conference opposes aid to the mujahideen (Harrison supports it if the Soviets are unwilling to negotiate a withdrawal from Afghanistan). No one adequately answers his concerns about Pakistan, but he cannot say anything about the issues at stake for the Afghans, a question he prefers to ignore.

The Afghan contributors unfortunately do not include any of the young generation of leaders whose emergence in the war Prof. Majrooh describes in one of his comments. The contributions by former members of the royal regime seem sadly and typically out of touch with current reality.

All these things and more make the book fascinating, discouraging and at times annoying to read. One wants to interrupt and get into this discussion. The greatest value of the book is this: it well represents the inadequate level of discourse about a major catastrophe of the 20th century. Perhaps it can help us reflect on how to raise it.

Barnett R. Rubin
Yale University

Defector... cont.
from p. 22

was possible for me to leave the regiment where I was stationed," he recalled. "But they saw me get away anyway, and I realized I was being pursued by helicopters and tanks. But then an Afghan man helped me and concealed me."

In the United States, his "first problem," as he put it, is his lack of English; he had none when he arrived and still speaks very little. The next adjustment problem is that "in this society everything depends on your own initiative," he said. "Over there it's easy in this respect. Personal initiative isn't important. For example, I have decided that I do want to study. But now the question comes up, what do I want to study? How do I go about it? Should I move somewhere? Should I stay here? I realize it's up to me. In the Soviet Union you can't just go from place to place. Now that I can, I'm almost scared to leave here."



Nicolai Movchan, a Ukrainian, struggled first with the language. Now, it's the endless choices.



Business opportunities in
Kabul →
KNT 9/18

TENDER NOTICE

Banale Construction Unit needs the following items.

- 1— 6 Maz dumb trucks
- 2— 10 Waz vehicle model (452).
- 3— 4 Micro bus vehicles.
- 4— 2 Units of rectifier (transformer).
- 5— 1 chain (unit) squator Mark (1232).
- 6— 8 Jeep model (469).
- 7— 2 big buses made in Hungary.
- 8— 4 units of welding machine of different sizes.
- 9— 2 units of Generators 100 kw.

Tradesmen, local institutions and foreign companies, that wish to supply the above items, may submit their offers to the Banaie Construction Unit, located in Yaka Toot, before Nov. 1 1986 and attend the bidding on the same day.
Bidbond in cash is required. (78) 2—2

MOSCOW, (TASS)—
Soviet television today showed footage sent in by its correspondent in Afghanistan, Mikhail Leschinsky, for the "international panorama" program, which featured rock-hewn figures at a site in Baman province some 120 kilometers from Kabul, regarded as a shrine by the Afghan people.

The sculptures, dating back to the Buddhist period, are nearly 40 meters high and some of them

are as tall as 50 and more meters.

"In former times they were the national property of all Afghan people. There was a major tourist center at the site, with people coming here from all over the world," the correspondent said.

"Now the stone figures show traces left by shell explosions, bullets and grenades. These are the doings of counter-revolutionaries who mine approaches to these statues," he added.

"These monuments and a Buddhist monastery have

suffered from invasions by many invaders. According to one legend, the gliding was removed from them by the legions of Alexander the Great," Leschinsky said. "The murals and phosphorus covered faces in stone at night were

disfigured by the hordes of Jenghis Khan whose grandson was killed here, after which the entire ancient Baman with its inhabitants was also destroyed," he said.

"And now there came here barbarians of this century, who are called

'true representatives of the Afghan people' and 'freedom fighters' by their western patrons" the correspondent said.

"Their gangs hide in rocky crevices, caves and at the tops of the hills surrounding the city. It is from there that the bandits stage their raids and attack the city with jet projectiles and rockets bearing western brand names," he said. "All their attempts to seize Baman, however, are futile," he added.

Vandalism of ancient monuments by Afghan bandits KNT 9/30

ITEMS FROM BAKHTAR

10/29 - "The organizers of the undeclared war against Afghanistan are using the Afghan bandits not only for committing crimes & fratricide but also for plundering the national wealth of Afghanistan. The traitorous Ahmad Shah, a ring-leader of the so-called Jamiat-e-Islami...is engaged in plundering public properties & destroying public utilities in Panjshir," according to Moh'd Karim of the Safid Chihri garrison. He went on to say "that machineries of exploding (sic) were brought by American advisors in order to exploit emerald. Reliable men of Ahmad Shah were trained by them. Imposing penalties on the people was the main financial source of Ahmad Shah for buying these machineries." Moh'd Karim worked with Ahmad Shah in 1984 & his tasks then were "exploring (sic) emeralds & sending them to Pakistan" for sale. He added that "only 10% of the money was sent back to Ahmad Shah." Supposedly Rabbani kept the rest.

11/1 - "The counter-revolutionaries have fired a number of mortar mines filled with dangerous chemicals on the populated village of Nazian in Shinwar Grand District of Nangarhar Province... this week. 60 persons including women, children & old men were severely poisoned as a result of this attack. The poisoned persons have been immediately transferred to hospitals in Jalalabad... A team of physicians & chemical experts of the armed forces...have been sent...to examine the matter... According to the physicians the effects of the chemicals on the bodies of the victims show that it is one of the dangerous type of poisonous substances. Supplying Afghan bandits with chemical weapons runs counter to int'l conventions & norms."

11/13 - "Western news agencies have made on these days another accusation about using chemical weapons by Afghan & Soviet forces. They claimed that allegedly a number of Afghan army officers & soldiers fell victims

to such a weapon & now they are under treatment in Wazir Akbar Khan hospital in Kabul." The Bakhtar reporter visited the hospital & spoke to the doctor in charge who said the charges were baseless. "Chemical weapons are never used either by the Afghan armed forces or by the limited military contingents of the USSR."

11/13 - "The counter-revolutionary bands in the suburbs of Kandahar cannot resist against the armed forces of the DRA & are being exterminated... The bandits have completely lost their morale... Narrating his eyewitnesses, the Bakhtar reporter said that the enemies were under the fire of 2 batches of soldiers & another was looking after the enemies in the forest. Replying to a question, soldier Rahmatullah, who fired on the enemies by his heavy machine gun, said that the area where the operation is in progress is Kadhal in the Panjwae District. The soldier with a firm voice which was indicative of his high morale said that the bands who are defying us by their heavy machine guns will be crushed in about 20 minutes."

And on 11/27 - "The counter-revolutionaries had built their hideouts near the Salwagha area in Kandahar...disturbing the peaceful life of the residents of the area since a short span of time... The armed forces of the DRA during their combat operations against the bandits have achieved remarkable successes in that part of the country & have obtained valuable combat experience in this strategic part of the country."

11/26 - "The production of 2 Afghan feature films entitled Migratory Birds & Earth is in progress in the stadium of Afghan Films. Production of a number of documentary films relating to the revolutionary transformation in Afghanistan is also underway. A new black & white feature film Zaneen will be released for screening in the near future. The subject of the film is the gains of the April Revolution... Migratory Birds depicts the miserable life & the tragic destiny of the deceived Afghans who had been compelled to abandon their homeland as a result of the criminal acts of the counter-revolutionary bands.. This is the 6th film directed by Engineer Latif." 15 feature films & a number of documentaries have been produced since the April Revolution.

Be Be Marjan leads women

in battle

New laws, regulations enacted

I met her in Gulzar village of Charasiab district, carrying a weapon on her shoulders. Be Be Marjan, heroine of many battles, needs no introduction. Member of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA and commander of the revolution defence group of her district, Be Be Marjan is known all over the country for her heroic courage and sacrifice in the cause of the revolution. She has taken part in over 150 face-to-face encounters with the enemy and lost her three sons in the battle.

Be Be Marjan told me: "The bandits committed monstrous crimes in this district. They made tens of mothers lose their sons and children become orphans. Hatching plots and creating terror among the people, the counter-revolution wanted to keep away the Charasiab inhabitants from backing the state and thus impede the realisation of humanitarian measures of the party and the revolutionary state."

The bold women of Charasiab led by Be Be Marjan formed their first group of revolution defenders with 10 members in 1982 to prevent the initiation of counter-revolution in this region and to take active part alongside their brothers in the security of the district. Today the membership of women's revolution defence group has reached 52, arranged in five security posts. Thanks to the active role of women and men in the cleaning operations, the villages of the district have been freed of bandits and peace restored.

Be Be Marjan was honoured for her courageous role in the defence of the revolution by the Central Committee of the PDPA with a medal and several letters of appreciation and cash prizes by the Revolutionary Council of the DRA and All-Afghanistan Women's Council.

This heroine has several times taken part in battles of Logar, Qalai Malik, Angaran and Chel Duktaran villages for extermination of the counter-revolutionary bandits and scored great victories.

"One of my good impressions," she said, "relates to the time when the women's group of revolution defenders in Charasiab, together with the armed forces, rescued the Angaran and Gulzar villages from the clutches of bandits, destroyed their str-

onghold and seized assorted weapons and a clothes depot of the enemy."

Be Be Marjan was born 44 years ago in a landless peasant family of Chel Duktaran village in Charasiab district, Kabul province. She is Pashtoon by nationality. In addition to working on his farmland, her husband heads a group of revolution defenders in the district. She has two daughters and four sons, all of whom have joined the groups of revolution defenders, soldiers of revolution and armed forces of the DRA and stood in defence of the homeland and revolution.

Be Be Marjan is a member of the PDPA. She was recently elected as President of the Association of Wives and Mothers of Martyrs of Revolution.

"I made a commitment to defend the revolution and its gains as long as I am alive and won't allow the counter-revolution to prevent any longer the realisation of the lofty ideals of the party and our state," she concluded.

(By Ibrahim)

SEPTEMBER 24, 1986

'REVOLUTION GAVE ME LAND'

Thanks to the implementation of democratic land and water reforms during post revolution years, over 335,000 peasant families have got land free of charge. And this process is continuing throughout the country.

Shir Malang, a resident of Gul Zar village, Charasiab district is one of the peasants who got land by the implementation of land and water reforms. In addition to working on his own land, he attends literacy courses set up in the village. Now he can read and write and use his knowledge for raising the yields.

Shir Malang said: "My father was a peasant working on others' land. At that time (prior to the revolution) we had no land. The landlord exploited my father and tortured him so cruelly that he finally lost his life. But he did not get rid of the debt of the landlord till his death. I was 12 when my father died. The land lord mortgaged me for my father's debt but I spent many working da-



These are the amendments to the law on land taxation, exemption of tax penalty of peasants and land owners, promotion of general department of civil aviation to the Ministry of Aviation, pardoning of prisoners, confirmation of the documents endorsed by the 19th World Post Congress, adoption by the DRA of six conventions of the International Labour Organisation (ILO), pardoning of those who deserted military service and the resolution of the Revolutionary Council regarding the improvement of work in state apparatus, regulation on the management of performance and activities of state controlling committee and the charter of Balkh cotton and ed-

ible oil enterprise.

The above laws and regulations have been published in issues Nos. 610, 611 and 612 of the official gazette.

KNT

9/16

sion of land and water reforms, the state gave me eight jerbs of land. I cultivated half of the land with wheat and other half with vegetables and harvested enough yields during the current year.

We have set up peasants cooperatives in our village to make better use of state assistance and to raise agricultural yields. The organisation of peasants in cooperatives helps to raise production. This year the peasants of our village could harvest 700-1000 kg of wheat from one jerb, while they had harvested about 140-280 kg from the same area in the past."

Shir Malang went on to say: "The cooperatives not only distribute us state assistance such as fertiliser, machinery, improved seeds, but have also set up literacy courses."

"The peasants of our village try hard to raise agricultural yields and cooperate in strengthening national economy and take part in ensuring regional security. We are organised in revolution defence group of Gul Zar village and have pledged to protect the gains of the revolution till the last."

9/20

(By Nooria Karcus)

All efforts directed at achieving countrywide peace

Najib answers questions of Polish journalist

IC/12

Comrade Najib, General Secretary of the PDPA CC granted recently an interview to a reporter of the Polish daily Tribuna Ludu, the text of which is released below:

Question:

Comrade General Secretary, I have come to Afghanistan under the cooperation existing between the daily Tribuna Ludu and daily Haqiqat-e-Enqilab-e-Saur. I would like to know what have you set on the ideological front, particularly for the mass media?

Answer:

The training of people in the spirit of patriotic defence of revolution and internationalism constitutes the first and the basic ideological work of our party. You know that we live in a backward country with a low level of awareness and political experience of masses and in a condition of brutal undeclared war of reaction and imperialism.

The remnants of the past tribal way of thinking and mass illiteracy have posed enormous hardships to the conscious mobilisation of all strata of people in defence of homeland and revolution. The work of our mass media is based on these principles.

The mass media of the country, above all, the daily Haqiqat-e-Enqilab-e-Saur, organ of the Central Committee of the PDPA, discharges a great role in organising the masses of people in struggle against the counter-revolution, reaction and imperialism as well as in socio-economic and cultural building of new Afghanistan.

Shortcomings and deficiencies turn up in the course of realisation of the objectives of the present stage of revolution which ought to be made clear through criticism and self criticism and solved. The mass media undertakes important and arduous tasks in this sphere as well.

The 16th plenum of the Central Committee of our party, recommended a distinct approach vis-a-vis various strata and classes of people in political-training work. It means that our political and training apparatus should organise the work from the level of masses, keeping in mind the boundless diversity in their ways of thinking, experience, habits and customs.

This, no doubt, covers observance of people's religious beliefs. We have a long way before us to raise high the political level of masses and instill revolutionary thought in the various strata of people.

Stress was also laid in the 16th plenum of the CC of PDPA on the growth of acquiring revolutionary theory by the PDPA members. We attach enormous value to this sphere of work as well.

Our mass media is also duty bound to accomplish this complex of tasks, always considering the social and cultural level of our society.

Question:

What most important problem relating to the party and the state was set as focal issue in the 16th plenum of the PDPA CC?

What is the very important issue of the present moment?

Answer:

The 16th plenum of the PDPA Central Committee is accounted as an important event in the political life of our country. The reconstruction of party-political activity of the PDPA aimed at enhancing the leading role of the party, all out acceleration of the state of affairs removing the negative phenomena and transition from words to deeds formed the pivotal line of the 16th plenum.

We noted in the plenum that our party and state have achieved new targets through the growth of revolutionary process.

Now, it is time to put into action the strategic policy of the party through reconstruction of work and finding effective new forms and methods of activity.

Our major efforts at the moment are directed at improving all political-training organisational work of the party. The reconstruction policy serves a basic goal and that is cessation of bloodshed, putting an end to the undeclared war of

imperialism and reaction, restoration of nationwide peace and ultimately, realisation of the objective of the national democratic April Revolution in Afghanistan.

The most important issue of today for our party and all the Afghan people is maintaining peace and tranquility. All our measures at the moment are focussed on achieving this basic aim and prime need of our people.

Question:

In your recent speeches, you have dwelt on the necessity of expansion of the social pillars of revolution. How is this translated into practice and what gains will you achieve in this respect?

Answer:

The expansion of social pillars of the revolution through organisation and mobilisation of all working people of the country and all democratic and patriotic forces to the cause of revolutionary power aimed at ever rapid ensuring of peace in the country is at the focus of our attention. Important radical steps have already been taken for this purpose. The 10-point plan endorsed by the Revolutionary Council and the 16th plenum of the Central Committee of our party broadly discussed this issue and serious attention was devoted to this fact in the 16th plenum, the basic direction and major motto of which is transition from words to deeds.

The Revolutionary Council and Council of Ministers of the DRA have been expanded with social figures, representatives of non-party people. The ranks of National Fatherland Front are increasingly expanding. The process of election to local organs of state power and administration has come to an end.

We are of the opinion, and consider this fact into account. What the way is also paved to the expansion of social pillars of the revolution parallel to growth of the process of democratisation of socio-economic life.

We have declared national compromise and reconciliation. As I emphasized in one of my radio-TV speeches, we would forge ahead for the realisation of this inevitable cause upto the limit of formation of a government with participation of those political forces who have settled outside the country but are ready to share the cause of building a new Afghanistan.

With flexible measures and policy of open welcome to our compatriots, we endeavour to provide gradually all grounds for genuine coming together of the forces who have gone out owing to misunderstandings or to some extent our past rigid stands.

It is obvious that the sworn enemies of the revolution might resort to plotting and bellicosity against the growing process of expansion of the social pillars of our revolution reflecting the increasing strengthening of revolutionary sovereignty in our country. But we openly declare and stress that we will forge ahead with full steadfastness on this path for peace and prosperity of the homeland.

Question:

the state of the DRA strives to normalise through political talks the situation around Afghanistan. On the other hand, as far as we know the Geneva talks are not so much satisfactory. What do you Comrade General Secretary, think of the prospect of solving this problem relating to maintenance of peace in Afghanistan and in the region?

Answer:

In pursuit of our peaceful foreign policy, we believe that the situation around Afghanistan should be solved through talks. It is based on this opinion that the DRA side has taken part in all rounds of talks with a constructive stand, political good will and initiatives and has spared no necessary efforts for achieving a political solution.

It is to be explained that partial advance has been made in talks between DRA and Pakistan on the set issues.

If the other side displays good will and realisation in talks, the peaceful solution of the situation in the region would certainly be achieved. Being optimistic about the future, we carry on our work and struggle. We are sure that the revolutionary gains on the one hand, and our flexible and principled approach on the other would pave the way in talks for achieving a political solution of the situation.

Question:

Your party is young and your working class is not large in number. Majority of your people are peasants and this makes you act with a special method and encounter difficulties and special requirements. Meanwhile, this has provided new experience to you which can enrich the world revolutionary movement. What is your opinion in this regard?

Answer:

You visited many regions of Afghanistan and have well realised that we are faced with special difficulties. The social and national structure of the Afghan society, like that of other backward societies, is complicated.

The disunity of social forces, multi-dimensional national and tribal structure, dominance of backward psychology and other factors set before our revolution the need of a realistic precise assessment and accurate distinction of political and social allies.

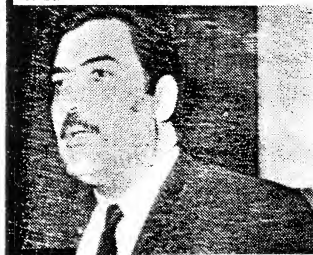
The objectives of national democratic revolution reflect the interests and demands of the majority of the Afghan people. All the national democratic forces of the country who fight for social progress, national independence, peace and democracy constitute the social pillars of the revolution.

It is obvious that the social pillars of the revolution cannot be formed at once and immediately. The organisational, political and training work of the party among the people assumes great importance in this regard.

Work with different categories of people in the field of party's relations with representatives of nationalities, tribes and ethnic groups of the country and attracting intelligentsia, clergymen and so on for achieving revolutionary changes is an important factor followed on the basis of characteristics of the Afghan society and with a special practice and method.

The strategic policy of the PDPA concerning the new approach towards expansion of the social pillars of revolution presented in the 10-point theses of the Revolutionary Council and documents of the 16th plenum of the PDPA CC is considered a package of the historic experience of our party's struggle during the post revolutionary years, when we had to implement while rebuffing the imperialist aggressions, the objectives of the revolution in the country.

Our party is young but has proved in action that it is the party of revolutionary theory and action, vanguard party of the working class and all toilers of the country and leads the struggle of the Afghan people towards a blossoming and advanced future.



BUZKASHI IN KUNDUZ

Kunduz Buzkashi team has participated in around 1000 competitions winning 100 gold medals and several other honours. Buzkashi is the famous Afghan game of skill, daring and expert horsemanship and enjoys national and international fame.

Ghulam Dastagir, head of Buzkashi team of Ku-

He was adjudged the best competitor and horseman in competitions recently organised on the eve of tarsanday day in the national stadium by the State Sports Committee.

Kunduz Buzkashi team has taken part twice in competitions held in Kabul since 1980 and has won the championship of the games. Ghulam Dastagir considers his success due to long experience.



Ghulam Dastagir.

nduz province is a strong competitor of the team who has participated in over 800 contests held in Kabul and provinces winning eight medals of the State Committee for Sports. Pahlawan Dastagir has taken interest in Buzkashi and horse riding since his childhood. He was born in Abrahim Khel district, Kunduz, in a Tajik family.

rience, skill in horsemanship and having a strong and fast mount.

"Consecutive victories of Kunduz team are what I cherish most", he said.

After the victory of the April Revolution, Buzkashi was freed from dependence and feudal over lordship. Now, there is no distinction among Buzkashi teams which can establish their position according to skill and strength among rivals. Before the revolution, Buzkashi had been affected by unpopular policies of the despotic regimes which wanted to prevent the progress of sportsmen causing divisions among them.

Now the party and the revolutionary state besides treating all sports teams equally, have focused attention on the progress of national sports and sportsmen.

(By Dost Mohammad)

HERAT BACK TO NORMAL

A special reporter of Bakhtar writes from Herat:

Turbans are the "helmets" of armed peasants of the west Afghan village of Eshaq-Soleiman as they defend their homes and the road to the nearby provincial city of Herat from attacks by the counter-revolutionary gangs. Five hundred villagers have formed a revolution defence group.

In other villages also in Herat province, where the counter-revolution has been mounting military operations for many years, peasant militia fighting the enemies of the revolution are growing in size. Together with units of volunteers from the town and villages, Afghanistan's regular armed forces have cleared 60 settlements around Herat of counter-revolutionary gangs since the end of August and considerably stabilised the military situation in the area.

Life for Herat's over 10,000 residents has already returned to normal.

after a period in which the city was a favourite target of heavy attacks by counter-revolutionary gangs.

The city's bazaars are crowded; 32 schools work from early morning till afternoon. Elections to the local organs of state power were held despite attempts to disrupt them, and the elected bodies have started work.

Near the city centre, the first modern housing complex is under construction. Reconstruction work is in progress on the Masjid-i-Jami mosque. The religious centre of the city built in twelfth century, it is one of Afghanistan's oldest mosques and is thronged by hundreds of worshippers every day.

"Western mass media have repeatedly written about our city and spread false reports by the bandits", Deputy Provincial Governor, Farooq Rasteen says. "But, as can be seen, our city is alive and being defended by the people more resolutely than ever". 10/7



CHRONOLOGY

10/18 - HK Standard - a time bomb exploded near Lady Reading Hospital in Peshawar, injuring 15. Reportedly the bomb was planted by DRA saboteurs.

On 10/20 Moh'd Nabi Mohammadi, leader of Harakat-i-Enqelab-i- Islami Afghanistan, became spokesman for the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen for the next 3 months.



10/22 - Washington Times - Foreign journalists who were invited to Kabul to watch the Soviet troop withdrawal were abruptly asked to leave after witnessing Afghans insulting the Soviets & a public display of support for Babrak who made a rare public appearance.

10/23 - BIA - Moh'd Aziz, Chmn of the DRA State Planning Committee, said industrial output grew 11% this year. Over 3,326 hectares of land have been given to 4,652 families. However, the Politburo assigned a commission from the PDPA CC & the Council of Ministers to formulate new approaches to the implementation of water & land reforms. - Over 80 Young Pioneer camps have been created in the DRA & over 90,000 pioneers have taken advantage of them. "By chanting the slogan 'learn, work & struggle' the Afghan pioneers are making themselves ready to take active part in fulfilling the lofty gains of the glorious April Revolution."

10/25 - BIA - The 1st state-owned store to sell children's clothes & toys was recently opened in Kabul.

10/28 - BIA - The 6th regiment of Soviet troops left Kunduz for the USSR. Making official farewells were Aslam Watanjar, Politburo CC member, & Mir Sahib Karwal, Sec'y. of the PDPA CC. - Electric energy production will rise by 24% by 1991. Projects will cost about Afs. 8b & will be financed with credit from the USSR, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, India & the UN.

- The population of Kabul City has reached 1.5m & is expected to go to 2m. DRA teachers' salaries will be increased from 10% to up to 60%.

10/29 - Los Angeles Times - The Communist Party Chief of Herat Moh'd Ali Samim was killed by a land mine in the Gulran district of the province. The HK Standard reported on 10/30 that Najibullah & other top DRA officials attended the funeral.

- BIA - The USSR provided 1,850 scholarships/year for training Afghan cadres in social & economic subjects. Over 90,000 Afghan workers have been trained in the USSR at the Soviet-Afghan Joint Cooperation Project.

- The Politburo commission to investigate the fire which broke out in an ammunition dump in Kabul on 8/27 (see Vol. XIV, #6, p.3) reported that the fire was caused by technical faults. Although the financial loss was great there was no loss of life & only 5 were injured. Depot supervisors will be punished as the committee said that the "fire damage could have been diminished."

10/30 - BIA - The Vanguard Organization of Working People of Afghanistan (VOWPA) joined the PDPA.

- Elections: 85% of the population voted in the recently concluded elections for people's representatives to local organs of state power. 14,190 deputies were elected - 7,424 workers & peasants, 4,338 intellectuals, 752 craftsmen, 520 military personnel, 200 traders & nat'l capital holders, & 56 women [& 900 unclassified! ed.]

On 10/31 the interim report of the UN Economic & Social Council on the situation of human rights in Afghanistan was circulated by the UN Sec'y Gen'l. (See p 15)

10/31 - LA Times - Lt. Gen. Leonard Peroots, Director of the US Defense Intelligence Agency, said that the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan was "a sham & a deception" because most of the removed troops had been sent to the DRA only 2 months ago. He said that the number of Soviet troops in

Afghanistan had dropped from 118,000 to 116,000 since 7/28 - the date of Gorbachev's withdrawal announcement.

By the general's account, new tanks arrived from the Soviet Union in mid-September, others joined the tank unit earlier this month, and by Oct. 15, they were working their way back to the Soviet Union.

The air defense units—one-half of the regiments being withdrawn—played "no significant military role in Afghanistan," because the guerrillas fighting the Soviet troops have no air force, Peroutts said. He added:

"In the seven years of war in Afghanistan, not a shot has been fired in combat by an air defense unit."

"The motorized rifle units constitute the heart of the deception effort," the general said. He said that of the units listed by Gorbachev, only the rifle regiments are

important in the fight against the mujahideen because they can close in on the small rebel bands and engage them in combat.

"The motorized rifle regiments that withdrew were units that had arrived in Afghanistan after Mr. Gorbachev's speech," Peroutts said.

The new units, he said, were made up of truck-towed artillery, rather than the self-propelled artillery that had been deployed earlier. In addition, the newly deployed rifle regiments used trucks, rather than the armored personnel carriers that have become standard equipment for Soviet units to protect troops from attack.

"In September, the introduction of the new motorized rifle regiments was complete," and preparations began for their public withdrawal, Peroutts said.

11/1 - BIA - The KNT called the statement that the USSR had recently sent more troops to Afghanistan a big lie.

11/2 PT - Radio Moscow reported that the Communist Party in Afghanistan has ca. 107,000 members of which over 45,000 have been enrolled in the past 2 years.

- BIA - Comrade Najib, visiting Faizabad, called on the people of Badakhshan to block the path of bandits in their territory.

- Kabul is stocked for the winter with 25,000 tons of coal, 12,000 tons of rice, 29,000 tons of wheat, 14,000 tons of flour & lots of potatoes & onions.

11/3 - PT - Mujahideen reopened a supply route in Zama in Paktika Province.

- LA Times - According to the London Sunday Telegraph, mujahideen received the 1st shipment of stinger missiles & are learning to use them in a secret camp near Islamabad. (See 11/6)

- BIA - Moh'd Hakim was appointed Dep. Chmn. of the DRA Council of Ministers.

11/4 - LA Times - China demanded that Moscow set a timetable for the complete withdrawal of its troops from Afghanistan & criticized the recent partial pullout as "void of practical significance."

11/5 - BIA - On the stingers: "It is understood that the Washington administration will supply 2 stinger missiles to the Afghan counter-revolution against shooting down 1 Afghanistan plane."

- LA Times - Mujahideen have downed a jet fighter & 12 helicopters in the last 3 weeks.

11/5 - PT - Four terrorists were arrested in Pakistan for plotting to blow up Burhanuddin Rabbani's house with a time bomb.

11/6 - BIA - By 1991 the DRA will have 4 new civilian airports & 7 others will be enlarged. The Civil Aviation Ministry plans to resume flights to London, Frankfurt & Paris & an int'l terminal was inaugurated at Kabul airport.

- NYCT - Mujahideen have received US & British portable anti-aircraft missiles:

The American Stinger and its British counterpart, the Blowpipe, were sent over the past several months presumably across the Pakistani border into neighboring Afghanistan, but the sources could not identify their point of origin.

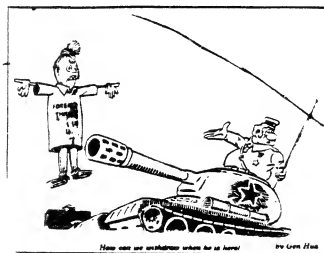
The disclosure by sources who have access to classified information marked the first evidence that the rebels have been supplied with Stingers. The administration has declined to confirm that it has sent the weapons to the rebels as part of covert U.S. assistance administered by the CIA. . . .

In the Pakistani capital of Islamabad, Western diplomatic sources said the Soviets recently sustained heavy aircraft losses inflicted by rebels using "new rockets." The sources declined to identify the rockets.

The 34-pound Stinger is a "fire and forget" weapon with a range of 3.1 miles that automatically homes in on its target. The 28-pound Blowpipe is a similar but older missile that has a 4-mile range. The operator guides it to the target with radio controls from the launcher. . . .

The sources had no knowledge of how many Stinger and Blowpipe missiles the rebels have received or when they began receiving them.

NYT - The Soviet Defense Ministry denied the American charge that the withdrawn troops had been replaced.



11/6 - NYT - The UN General Assembly approved a resolution calling for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. The vote was 122 for, 20 opposed & 11 abstaining.

11/7 - NYT - Afghans came to blows in the UN (see p. 14).

- NYCT - Freed Soviet dissident Yuri Orlov & Soviet army deserter Nikolai Movchan (see p.22) called for the creation of a world court to try those responsible for the Afghan conflict.

11/8 - BIA - Archaeologists last week unearthed a "golden gift case inside a silver case" [probably a reliquary] in Tap-e-Maranjan in the eastern part of Kabul. "The discovery of this unique artistic pie (sic) belonging to the Kushanid period (3-6 cent. A.D.) puts remarkable light on the historical importance of this Buddhist temple." Kushan coins, pottery shards & a gold medal have been excavated from the site since 1983.

- "The normal course of work at the 41st session of the UNGA has been disrupted by debates on the so-called 'Afghan issue.'" (See 11/6.)

- Each of the 90 pilgrims who went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of Karbala in Baghdad received a subsidy of Afs 58,000. -DRA armed forces chief Shanawaz Tanai said the DRA forces "have been transformed into a modern army" & are trained "according to contemporary requirements" with the "brotherly disinterested assistance of the Soviet Union."

- HK Standard - Moh'd Nabi Mohammadi, current spokesman for the Islamic Unity, said at a UN News conference that the resistance would hold talks with the Kabul Gov't once the Soviet troops were unconditionally withdrawn.

11/9 - LA Times - DRA troops, backed by tanks & gunships, launched a major offensive on 11/3 in Takhar Province in an attempt to recapture the Ferkhar Garrison taken by mujahideen last August.

- PT - The mujahideen delegation in New York met with representatives from the European Economic Community.

11/10 - BIA - The Daily Hewad published an article about the secret supply of US arms to Iran.

- Agricultural products make up 66% of the DRA's national income.

11/11 - AICMB # 68 - A DRA garrison at Nahrin in Baghlan fell to the mujahideen.

11/12 - PT - Early this month Soviet bombs wiped out the villages of Sheikh Ali, Shinwar & Ali Khel to facilitate troop movements along the Salang highway.

11/12 - HK Standard - Western diplomatic sources said that Soviet forces around Kabul used "lethal gases" which killed guerrillas & civilians & turned their bodies blue. Gas cannisters reportedly were used in Sept. & Oct. in the Paghman area although Abdul Haq, the Paghman cdr, said he had received no such reports.

- BIA - Bakhtar denies Western media claims that poison gas is being used.

- The DRA & the USSR signed an agreement to train map-makers & improve the cartography & geodesy departments.

- NYT - The UN human rights report made public widespread atrocities being committed in Afghanistan. (See p.15)

"Largely typical of the atrocities," the report said, are the bombing of villages, the disembowelment or kicking to death of villagers and the use of explosives disguised as toys.

The report found widespread torture in Afghan jails, including the pulling out of fingernails, systematic beatings and humiliating conditions.

More than 100 villages have been bombed and 10,000 to 12,000 civilians have been reported killed in the last nine months, the report stated. It said groups fighting the Government "command the support of the vast majority of the population."



11/13 - SCMP - The UN report (see above) said that there are 5m refugees in Iran & Pakistan & that in 1986 10,000 - 12,000 civilian deaths were reported compared with 37,000 in 1985.



11/14 - PT - BBC reports that a DRA politburo resolution prevents Afghans from going abroad for education until they have completed their military service. The resolution also permits the conscription of civilian workers.

- HK Standard - A spokesman for the Soviet military command in Afghanistan said that US military advisers have crossed into the DRA from Pakistan to supervise rebels in the use of chemical weapons. The spokesman said that Western reports that the Soviets have used chemical weapons are "concoctions." (See 11/12)

11/15 - NYT - UN Sec'y Gen'l de Cuellar protested to the DRA UN representative over his delegation's attack on Afghan opposition leaders (see p. 14). The Pakistani diplomat who accompanied the opposition group called the letter inadequate & said that Pakistan & Saudi Arabia would call for the DRA to be expelled.

- PT - In the UN Pakistan called for the world community to condemn the DRA for its attacks on refugee camps in Pakistan.

- Mujahideen reportedly destroyed the TV tower in Faizabad during fierce fighting; killed Malik Sikander, the brother-in-law of DRA Interior Minister Gulabzoi, & commander Rehmatullah, who had defected to the DRA in Shakar Dara near Kabul. Fierce fighting has been going on in Kandahar for many weeks.

- BIA - By 1991 the private sector's share of the nat'l income will be Afs. 101.6b up from 86.4b in 1978. Newly established private industries will be exempt from taxes for 6 years in the provinces & 4 years in Kabul. Only 10% is charged on private industry's raw material imports - "which is the lowest in the world."

- 700 religious figures were elected people's deputies (see 10/30) & over 25% of those elected are PDPA members.

- A draft of the new labor law was studied by the Politburo.

- Nizamuddin Tahzib, Supreme Court Chief Justice, & Abdul Jamil Zarifi, Minister of Islamic Affairs & Trust Properties, spoke at functions marking the birth anniversary of the Prophet. Comrade Najib also participated.

11/18 - PT - Soviet Gen'l Sakharov, the DRA Defense Minister Nazar Moh'd & other top military men have been sent to Shinwar to supervise operations against the mujahideen.

11/19 - NYT - Felix Ermacora, author of the UN Human Rights Commission's report on Afghanistan, charged that the UN had eliminated his charges of Soviet & DRA atrocities before circulating the report as an official document. What was excluded will be circulated in English only without being translated into the other official UN languages. The UN said the decision was made for financial reasons.

- Amnesty Int'l issued a 51-page report on torture in Afghanistan (see p. 15).

- BIA - In 1986, 145,000 tons of fertilizer were distributed; by 1991 220,000 tons will be distributed.

- The new Sanahi newspaper building was dedicated in Ghazni. It is one of 12 provincial newspapers.

11/20 - CSM - Next week, when visiting India, Soviet leader Gorbachev is expected to offer a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in 18-24 months if Pakistan will cut back its support for the guerrillas.

- UN Sec'y Gen'l Pérez de Cuéllar has met privately here with both the Afghan and Pakistani foreign ministers. This week, Pérez de Cuéllar will dispatch his envoy Diego Cordovez to the region for talks with the Afghans, the Iranians, and the Pakistanis. "We have to keep the process alive," Pérez de Cuéllar says.

- BIA - The 20th plenum of the PDPA CC was held in Kabul. Ghulam Farouq Yaqubi, Minister of State Security, was elected to the Politburo; Moh'd Gulabzoi, Interior Minister, & Farid Mazdak, 1st Sec'y of the DYOA, were elected alternate members. Babrak's resignation was accepted & the plenum gave him the Order of the April Revolution & expressed its gratitude for the "great services" he rendered to the revolution.

11/21 - The Times (London) - Babrak Karmal was relieved of all his gov't & party posts, supposedly at his own request.

- NYT - The UN human rights report asserts that the DRA proposes to move 300,000 people from the provinces of Kunar, Laghman & Paktia, on the Pakistan border, to Helmand, Farah & Nimroz, adjoining Iran, in order to build a military cordon on the border.



11/22 - The Times (London) - The number of Afghan refugees fleeing their country quadrupled last month, according to Barry Langridge, a Christian Aid worker who recently returned from Pakistan. Most of the refugees came from the northern provinces where they said the Soviets had systematically destroyed the economy & the crops.

11/23 - NYT - Deserters in Canada:

Five deserters from the Soviet Army have been brought to Canada in a secret Government mission after being held captive by Afghan guerrillas for about three years, newspapers reported today...

The soldiers were identified as Sergei Busov, 22 years old, a driver-mechanic; Nikolai Golovin, 23, an electrician; Igor Kovalchuk, 26, an electrician; Vladislav Naumov, 24, a paratrooper, and Vadim Plotnikov, 21, a demolition expert. ...

Efforts to bring six Soviet deserters to Canada began in July 1984 when a Toronto lawyer, Serge Jusyp, met several of the deserters in Afghanistan.

Mr. Jusyp, who was acting on behalf of the Holy Trinity Russian Orthodox Church in Toronto, got guerrilla leaders to agree to release the men if Canada offered the deserters asylum.

11/24 - NYT - Haji Moh'd Chamkani was named acting president of the DRA, replacing Babrak Karmal. Chamkani is described as a "non-Communist" (see 11/26.)



HAJI MOHAMMAD TSAMKANI, Vice-President of the DRA, formerly a parliamentarian and Senator, now Party Member, a respectable person, Pashtun, from Paktia Province.

- The Times (London) -

Before his visit to India Soviet leader Gorbachev said

in a radio broadcast that a political settlement of the Afghan question was not far off.

Mr Gorbachev flatly denied that Moscow had any "expansionist design" in Afghanistan and accused Pakistan and the US of taking measures to thwart steps to reach a settlement.

He spoke warmly of the peace mission of Mr Diego Cordovez, the senior United Nations official at present in Kabul, describing it as a "real process which can be a success and lead to a political settlement".

Speaking to representatives of India's two main news agencies and Indian radio and television, Mr Gorbachev said: "We want Afghanistan to be non-aligned and independent."

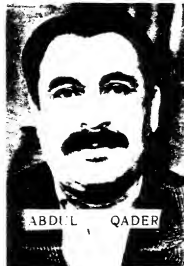
"We responded to a call for help, but we have no intention to stay there forever. I do not think the Afghan people or the Afghan Government would accept that either."

11/24 - WSJ - Some of the US arms secretly shipped to Iran were intended for Afghan guerrillas, according to US intelligence sources. One purpose of the Iranian operation was to open a new supply route to Afghan mujahideen.

The rebels' existing supply routes - through Pakistan and China - are operating at capacity, according to the U.S. intelligence sources. Moreover, some administration officials are worried that growing Soviet pressure might force the Pakistanis to curtail support for the Afghan rebels.

11/25 - BIA - In the tribal areas in the frontier provinces, over 150,000 children are attending school. A commission for cultural affairs has been created in the Central Council of the Tribal High Jirgah to oversee educational projects.

- The Times (London) - Anthony Hyman writes that Comrade Najib seems to be emphasizing the Pushtun nature of the Kabul regime - seen in recent propaganda & the greater use of Pushto in the official media. Party promotions have gone mainly to Pashtuns & recently Abdul Qader, a Tajik from Herat & a former Defense Minister, was shipped off as ambassador to Poland. Hyman suggests that these changes may be designed to appeal to alienated Khalqis as well as Pushtun nationalists since both groups are well represented in the Afghan armed forces.



11/26 - BIA - The DRA protested to Pakistan over artillery fire from Pakistan on the border post of Jaji Maidan Grand district. Pakistan accused the DRA of border violations at Teri Mangal, Spina Koka, Landi Kotal, Sayed Gai & Shelman on Nov. 9, 10, 15, 17 & 18. The DRA rejected the claims as groundless.

- The USSR gave the DRA a 9m ruble credit to build a 200-bed hospital in Kunduz.

- PT - Gulbuddin Hekmatyar said that the replacement of Babrak with Chamkani (see 11/24) was another "insulting trick" the Soviets were playing on the Afghans. "It makes no difference for the Soviets whether it is Karmal or Chamkani, communist or non-communist. Anyone who can substantiate the Russian designs will be made President in Afghanistan."

11/26 - NYT - The 5 Soviet soldiers who deserted in Afghanistan and are now in Canada (see 11/23) said that the USSR had told them they could return home without penalty. They plan to stay in Canada.

- NYT - Indian police ordered scores of activists in the Afghan refugee community to remain in their homes during Gorbachev's visit to India. (See 11/27.)

11/27 - NYT - Several dozen Afghan refugees tore down signs welcoming Gorbachev posted near the Jama Masjid mosque in Delhi. 15 Afghans were injured & 50 were arrested (see 11/28).

11/28 - PT - An India-based organization of Afghans gave a resolution calling for a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan & criticizing India for not helping the mujahideen to Rajiv Gandhi on the day before Gorbachev's visit. - Beijing Radio reported that the Soviets are unhappy with Najib & may replace him - perhaps with the DRA Interior Minister. The Radio also reported that Babrak supporters tried to kill Najib by rocketing his palace in Kabul but they only injured him. 25 Babrak supporters were arrested.

11/29 - Kayhan Int'l - Diego Cordovez in Tehran:

Special United Nations envoy for the Afghanistan issue, Diego Cordovez met with Iranian deputy foreign minister for international and economic affairs, Jamal Larjani, here Thursday, and briefed him on the Geneva talks on the situation in Afghanistan.

Larjani said many obstacles stand in the way of the Geneva talks. He said a successful solution to the problem would not be one merely benefiting the East or West but the Afghan people. He said the Afghan Mujahideen who are the real representatives of the Afghan nation, must have a role in the talks concerning their homeland.

The deputy foreign minister said he was not optimistic that Kabul's intention in the talks was one of independence and questioned how the regime which was looked upon as being illegitimate could play such a major role in the talks.

Larjani reiterated the Islamic Republic's condemnation of the continued occu-

pation of Afghanistan, saying a final solution will only be found when the occupation forces leave Afghan soil.

He also noted that Iran is opposed to the interference of any foreign power in Afghanistan, adding that the Islamic Republic of Iran strongly condemns U.S. provocations and its interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. . . .

The Islamic Republic of Iran has refused to participate in the Geneva talks due to the absence of the Afghan people's representatives and Islamic resistance groups. It has instead called for the unconditional withdrawal of occupying Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

Major Afghan resistance groups have opposed the talks considering any negotiations as recognition of the subservient regime in Afghanistan. They have announced that they will not give up resistance until the withdrawal of all Soviet forces from their country.

11/30 - PT - The head of the Karachi office of Hizb-i-Islami Afghanistan stated that Afghan refugees had no hand in the Karachi riots. He said KGB & Khad agents & smugglers in the Bara Market are the real culprits as they are directly involved in the drug trade. (See p. 10)

12/1 - PT - The US has given \$2.67m to the Int'l Rescue Committee for work with Afghan refugees in Pakistan since July 1980. Official US aid to overall int'l refugee relief in Pakistan amounts to over \$500m.

12/2 - LA Times - The Soviet paper Izvestia accused Iran of aiding the US & other "faces of imperialism" in an undeclared war against Afghanistan. It accused Iran of launching a hostile campaign against Moscow's support of the Kabul gov't & of "blatant interference" in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

- Radio Pakistan reported that Diego Cordovez had gotten the DRA's agreement to resume the Geneva talks.

- Yunis Khalis fighters shot down a Soviet-built Afghan transport plane killing at least 25 DRA & Soviet troops.

- NYT - Some of the money from the Iranian arms deals may have been diverted to rebel groups in Afghanistan since the Nicaraguans received less money than US Atty. Gen'l Meese said was diverted to them from the sales. (See 11/24 & 12/4).

- PT - Babrak reportedly sought asylum in an Eastern bloc country after moving from his official residence to his father's house in the Wazer Akbar Khan area. Later, the paper says, he drove to the Chinese Embassy in Shari Nau hoping for refuge. The Chinese guards called police who then reportedly escorted him to an unknown destination. Babrak's father, (Ret) Gen'l Husain, is also supposedly missing.

12/4 - PT - The paper quotes a DRA "highly-placed official who defected from the gov't under very odd conditions" as saying that Sultan Ali Keshtmand had been arrested & taken to an unknown place & that a new wave of purges is underway in Afghanistan. Army defectors say they are given 3-month courses & then sent to active duty. Their pay is Afs. 240 [the article did not say how often] even though a kilo of wheat costs Afs. 100 in Kabul.

12/4 - NYT - According to the Washington Post of 12/3, congressional investigators traced \$250m of the proceeds of the Iranian arms sales to a CIA Swiss bank account. The account contained an additional \$250m from Saudi Arabia & the funds were for the Afghan mujahideen.

- HK Standard - The next round of Geneva talks between Pakistan & Afghanistan will begin on 2/12/87.

- BIA - Public Health Minister Nabi Kamary inaugurated a 200-bed hospital in Herat. The facility has 367 medical personnel including 47 doctors.

12/5 - PT - Maj. Gen'l Nazar Moh'd, a former DRA defense minister, was appointed Deputy to Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand.

- NYT - Brig. Gen'l Moh'd Rafi was named DRA Defense Minister replacing Nazar Moh'd. Gen'l Rafi had been a deputy prime minister. Abdul Wakil was named Foreign Minister replacing Shah Moh'd Dost who was named a minister of state & will become the DRA representative to the UN. [He replaces Farid Zarif who will return to the foreign ministry in Kabul.]

12/6 - Kayhan Int'l - Mujahideen attacked Kabul with rockets on 11/29 causing explosions in Khair Khana, Darulaman & near the Soviet Embassy. On 11/30 they rocketed the airport. The attacks reportedly were larger & more coordinated than usual & "may have been orchestrated to avenge recent Soviet attacks on...the Paghman district" or as "an attempt to make an impression on a special UN envoy in Kabul to try to negotiate an end to the conflict."

12/8 - PT - Mujahideen liberated the Andarab District near the Salang Pass.

12/9 - PT - The US has contributed \$3.51m to Church World Service since CWS began assisting Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

12/10 - The Rising Nepal - Najib will visit Moscow according to Tass.

Tass also reported that Gen. Rafi and Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand on Monday attended a ceremony formally handing over the fort of Bala Hissar, occupied by Soviet forces since 1979, to the Afghan Defence Ministry.

One of six Soviet regiments pulled out of Afghanistan two months ago following a speech by Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev as based at Bala Hissar, once a British stronghold.

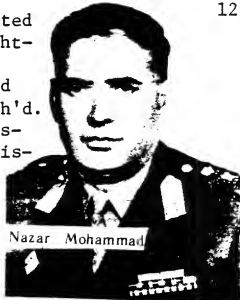
12/10 - NYT - Pakistan, Afghanistan & the USSR have reached "full agreement" on the monitoring procedure for a cut off in aid sent through Pakistan should agreement be reached on a Soviet pull out from Afghanistan. The time table for withdrawal will be the only issue blocking a settlement when the Geneva talks resume in February.

12/11 - Santa Monica Evening Outlook:

NICOSIA, Cyprus (AP) — Iran's foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, told a Soviet delegation today that Soviet troops should be withdrawn from Afghanistan and warned their presence was "detrimental" to the region's interest, the official Iranian news agency reported.

12/12 - LA Times:

Afghan leader Najib arrived in Moscow for top-level talks, and a Soviet spokesman said there are "real and genuine opportunities" to settle the seven-year-old guerrilla war in Afghanistan. Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev is expected to see Najib during the Afghan leader's first visit to Moscow since he took over as general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Before his arrival, Foreign Ministry spokesman Boris D. Pyadashev praised Najib for following a course of "national reconciliation" in the seven months since he replaced Babrak Karmal in the top party post.



12/13 - NYT - US officials said that Afghan guerrillas had begun using Stinger anti-aircraft missiles & that more DRA planes & helicopters had been shot down than ever before. Soviet & Afghan pilots must fly higher, reducing the effectiveness of their air power. The officials said that the military situation for the guerrillas was better than at any other time. Comrade Najibullah & other Afghan leaders were in Moscow for talks with Gorbachev & other Soviet leaders.

12/15 - LA Times - Several dozen people were killed when Soviet-built planes bombed Kandahar last week. Local authorities called the bombing a mistake & it was not clear whether the pilots were Afghan or Soviet.

12/16 - LA Times - Rone Tempest, in Karachi, wrote that more Pushtuns lived in Karachi than in Kabul.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Center <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>
DRA	- Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER	- <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>
FRG	- Federal Republic of Germany
IHT	- <u>International Herald Tribune</u>
KNT	- <u>Kabul New Times</u>
NFF	- National Fatherland Front
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- <u>New York Times</u>
NYCT	- <u>New York City Tribune</u>
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- <u>Pakistan Times</u>
RC	- Revolutionary Council
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- <u>South China Morning Post</u>
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA	- Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ	- <u>Wall Street Journal</u>

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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